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ABSTRACT

A collection of papers on bilingual education covers these topics: (1) second-language acquisition theories relevant to bilingual education; (2) the age factor in native language maintenance and in the development of English proficiency of overseas Japanese children; (3) applying the Cummins language proficiency model to students who acquire language bimodally; (4) acquisition of Spanish sounds in two-year-old Chicanos; (5) bilingual education's role in Puerto Rican students' cultural adjustment; (6) qualitative analysis of teacher disapproval behavior; (7) assessing a community's ethnolinguistic complexity; (8) a bilingual education program effective with both Spanish and Asian language students; (9) Spanish mathematics instruction in some Texas schools; (10) oral history in bilingual social studies; and (11) a ten-year-old language learner's journal. Other topics include (1) improving vocational education for bilingual students; (2) the microcounseling approach for limited-English-proficient adults; (3) linguistic interferences among Korean students learning English; (4) scoring a Spanish informal reading inventory for bilingual students; (5) classroom observation for Spanish-speaking parents; (6) bilingual education on television; (7) the impact of state evaluation systems on limited-English-speakers; (8) issues in bilingual education policy formation; (9) language rights versus racial nondiscrimination; (10) bilingual education in higher education; (11) bilingual bicultural education; and (12) Hispanic women in higher education. (MSE)

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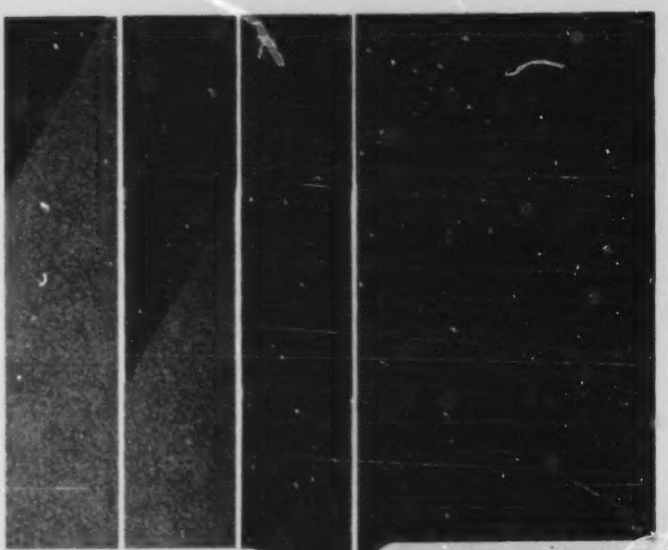
Theory, Technology, and Public Policy on Bilingual Education

Edited by Raymond V. Padilla



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Thanks to all of those who responded to the NABE 1982 call for papers, especially those who submitted proposals for formal papers. Many more proposals were submitted than we could accommodate. As they should have said on the old radio shows: "Keep those papers coming!" What is usually a thankless task will not be so this time: Thank you, readers, for your help. Check out the pages that follow: That's what you selected. Please send your congratulations and complaints to the authors (with a copy to the editor).

It was a pleasure to work with the editorial staff of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. We worked at a distance but the distance never got in the way. Thanks to all the staff of NCBE for supporting this publication and recognizing the importance of documenting significant activities in bilingual education.

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Finally, the 1981–82 NABE board should be recognized for its support of the conference that eventually led to these collected papers.

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Theory, Technology, and Public Policy on Bilingual Education

PREFACE

This book is a collection of papers that were presented at the 1982 annual conference of the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE). They were selected through blind reviews of abstracts submitted in response to the call for papers. The volume is important because it documents in part the activities of the 1982 NABE conference, and because it reinforces a conceptualization of bilingual education that has already been elaborated elsewhere — namely, that bilingual education requires three fundamental components: theory, technology, and public policy (Padilla, 1979–1981).

The view of bilingual education presented here attempts, in a parsimonious way, to make sense out of the bewildering assortment of activities that constitute the bilingual education enterprise. It makes sense out of bilingual education because the designated components of knowledge serve both as descriptors of available knowledge and as pointers for directing future research efforts. Most important, the components draw together in a logical pattern the activities of the academician, the politician, and the pedagogue, as well as the bilingual community.

After almost a decade and a half of officially sanctioned bilingual education in the United States, it seems worthwhile to try to make sense of the situation. Perhaps one way to do this is to approach bilingual education with common sense. Common sense, after all, tends to be quite uncommonly distributed among the populace. What follows is a start on the common-sense view of bilingual education.

How It All Started

Very sensibly, bilingual education was proposed because ordinary monolingual education was not working with our students, or at least it was not working well enough. Monolingual education was not working for many reasons, including at least the following:

1. Students were not familiar with the language of instruction.

2. Teachers were not familiar with the language of the students.
3. Schools offered one relatively homogenized curriculum from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas.
4. Many school personnel believed that minority language groups were not interested in education.
5. Many school personnel neglected minority language groups and seemed not to be interested in their education because of certain social, historical, and economic features of various regions of the country (Carter, 1970).
6. Minority language parents found it extremely difficult to relate to schools controlled and run predominantly by Anglos.
7. Public schools viewed their mission as one of assimilating minority language children rather than simply educating them.
8. Schools lacked knowledge about how bilingual students learn best.
9. Schools were not particularly interested in finding out how bilingual students learn best (Forbes, 1970).
10. Less than a generation before the advent of bilingual education, public schools in the Southwest still practiced de jure segregation of Hispanic students.
11. Not enough minority language candidates were trained or hired as teachers, counselors, or administrators.
12. Minority language citizens had little or no control over policymaking in local school districts or state education agencies.
13. Many minority language students were poor and the schools were essentially middle-class institutions.
14. Many minority language students were recent immigrants, or first generation, and considered to be inferior.

The idea that "something had to be done" to ameliorate the situation should not surprise anyone. The fact that in 1967 the U.S. Congress, after studying the problem, decided to prod school districts into "doing something" by giving them discretionary grants should not be maliciously interpreted to mean that Congress did not know what it was doing, that it suffered from a "Columbus Complex" (Epstein, 1977). In the face of the then existing situation, the fact that Hispanic and other minority language activists demanded reforms and changes should not be viewed as an act of narrow ethnic self-interest.

It is an expression of common sense when people strive to better their lot or show interest in their own survival. Clearly the 1968 Bilingual Education Act did not require anything of local school districts; it merely gave them money to do something about their failure to educate minority language students.

A Small Push from the Supreme Court

Asked if limited-English-proficient students were being treated equitably when the schools provided only English language instruction, the U.S. Supreme Court declared in 1974 that it was ludicrous to think so. To reach its decision, the Court did not invoke some arcane legal theory. It merely used common sense to rule that two students do not derive equal benefits from instruction when one is instructed in the home language and the other is instructed only in a language foreign to him or her. In light of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits this very kind of inequitable treatment, the Court declared that a school district engaging in this kind of illegal practice had "to do something" to offer education equitably. Interestingly enough, the local school district specifically involved in this litigation decided after much thought and discussion that "doing something" meant offering bilingual education. This local school district's decision has often been viewed negatively by those who disagree with the Supreme Court decision and who may have wanted "to do nothing" about being equitable.

Thus, when the former Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued the now-defunct "Lau Guidelines" for remedying the inequalities alluded to by the Supreme Court, some local schools became concerned about what they perceived to be federal intrusion into local educational prerogatives. Although the guidelines merely stipulated that local school districts had "to do something" to ensure some modicum of equality, most school districts resented the fact that some higher authority was calling them to account. They apparently disagreed with the Supreme Court's reasoning that engaging in illegal discriminatory activities cannot be a local prerogative in a democratic society. And at least some schools resisted being asked "to do something" to really educate non-English-proficient students.

The newly organized U.S. Department of Education attempted to promulgate rules to codify the Lau remedies, only to be confronted by opposition from public school officials, the mass media, and some federal executives willing to acquiesce to conservative constituents.

Thus, a common-sense view of the situation is that two great gulfs separate the contending groups here: First, one group believes that "something has to be done" to provide a better and more equitable education for minority language students, while the other group believes that nothing out of the ordinary needs to be done; second, one group believes that bilingual education is one good thing that can be done to improve the education of minority language students, while the other group is quite skeptical of such a proposal and wonders why ordinary instructional methods do not suffice. One group is proposing solutions to perceived inadequacies in the educational system while the second group, at a minimum, either fails to see the inadequacies, or disagrees with the proposed solutions, or both.

Interestingly, opponents have managed to define successful bilingual instruction in the narrowest way imaginable: by counting only relative gains in achievement scores in English and math. They have failed even to consider the possibility that bilingual education could lead to:

1. Improved attendance patterns
2. Diminished behavior problems
3. Improved emotional response of students to the school setting
4. Increased participation of parents in school activities
5. Decreased school dropout rates
6. Decreased delinquency rates
7. Decreased unemployment and welfare rates
8. Increased average level of education for target populations
9. Improved skills of the labor force
10. Improved language resources for the nation.

Doing Something

It is important for advocates of bilingual education to remember that bilingual education was started because there was a need "to do something" about the wretched education that minority language children were receiving. This philosophy of "doing something" has a very important practical value because it tends to mobilize the community around significant issues. It is often more important to mobilize a community and get it to do something than to worry about implementing the precise and exact solution to a problem. *Cuando no hay camino, se hace camino al andar.* In that spirit of "doing something," here are a few suggestions for what we ought to be doing as advocates of bilingual education:

1. Articulate a philosophy of bilingual education.
2. Set standards for bilingual instruction, especially with respect to training and certification of teachers, language proficiency, materials and instrumentation, definition of bilingual programs, and instruction. The standards could be de-

veloped by the National Association for Bilingual Education and various state affiliates.

3. Lobby for state support of bilingual instruction.
4. Support political candidates who support bilingual education.
5. Encourage greater community participation.
6. Continue the development of bilingual education technology.
7. Continue the development of bilingual education theory.
8. Rely on ourselves for answers.

The education of a people is too important to be left only to politicians and bureaucrats. The remarkable feat of minority language groups in the last generation has been their collective discovery that one needs to know more in order to do more. *Ya que le hallamos el "chango," dale gas, Chepe.*

Raymond V. Padilla
Tempe, Arizona

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PART I

Theoretical Perspectives

Once you are a proclaimed guru, you can review books without bothering to read them. The redeeming feature of this otherwise obnoxious situation is that it constitutes an automatic signal to replace the guru.

CHAPTER 1

Second Language Acquisition Theories Relevant to Bilingual Education

David P. Baral
University of the Pacific

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Introduction

Bilingual education in the United States is a developing field. As with other reform movements in U.S. education, bilingual education did not start with a well-elaborated theoretical basis. It began with practical concerns about the problems of minority language children in English language instructional programs, and it evolved within a specific set of social and political factors.

There are three principal ways in which a new field can develop a theoretical framework: (1) theory can evolve from within as the field grows and develops, (2) theory can be adopted from related fields and supporting disciplines, and (3) the new field can be defined by outsiders (Muskal, 1981). There is ample evidence that all three processes are currently taking place in bilingual education.

Significant advances in the development of theory within the field are demonstrated by two recent publications (Padilla, 1980; California State Department of Education, 1981). The dangers of letting the field be defined by outsiders are illustrated by the efforts of state and national policymakers to reduce bilingual education to a compensatory program. The present paper examines second language acquisition theories, developed in the related fields of linguistics and second language teaching, as possible sources for theory building in bilingual education.

The paper is not a summary of all areas of linguistics which might have potential relevance for bilingual education. Many topics have been excluded from consideration, including theories of syntactical development, the field of semantics, first language development in young children, and the general topic of bilingualism. The paper focuses on second language acquisition theories as they apply to young learners whose home language is different from the language of instruction in school.

These linguistic theories are highly relevant to bilingual education. They suggest why we should teach in one language or another and what the consequences of this decision may be. These theories are often explicitly or implicitly invoked in the rationales that support bilingual programs, and they underlie certain instructional models, such as the transitional versus the maintenance approach. They may even have specific instructional implications as well — for example, the desirability of maintaining language separation in bilingual programs.

The Native Language Hypothesis

The native language hypothesis is the oldest and most durable linguistic theory that is potentially relevant to bilingual instruction. This theory has existed for at least twenty-five years and is still alive today. The theory goes under several different names: the native language theory, the vernacular advantage theory, and the linguistic mismatch theory. The native language hypothesis has always been controversial; some evidence supports it, and other evidence contradicts it. Since the advent of bilingual education, the controversies surrounding this theory have grown and intensified.

The UNESCO Publication

The earliest version of the theory was the result of a UNESCO conference held in 1951 which was reported in a publication titled *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (UNESCO, 1953). The authors of the UNESCO publication adopted a categorical approach to the problem: "We take it as axiomatic . . . that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the child" (UNESCO, 1953, p. 6).

The basic argument advanced by the UNESCO experts can be summarized in four major postulates (see UNESCO, 1953, pp. 68-70):

1. Every child should begin schooling in the home language and should continue receiving instruction in that language as long as possible.
2. There are no inferior languages; any language can be used for elementary education.
3. Higher education in vernacular languages is strongly recommended, although it is recognized that some languages will require vocabulary development in technical fields.
4. If the child's first language is not the national language of a country, or a world language, then that child should learn a second language.

The UNESCO statement has been strongly attacked on a number of grounds (Bull, 1964; Engle, 1975; Bowen, 1977). Critics have pointed out the political implications of the document: there was substantial input from nations emerging from colonialism and involved in national liberation movements. The practical implications have also been cited: with the great variety of languages and dialects in the world, the problems of staffing and materials development, even for the attainment of first language literacy skills, would certainly be acute. Critics of the document have also raised the issue of social and economic desirability versus what is best for the child psychologically.

In spite of these criticisms, the theory has proven remarkably durable. It has been included in the program of national liberation in a number of countries, and it has recently been incorporated into the rationale for bilingual education in the United States (Saville and Troike, 1971; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975).

Problems of Interpretation

When the UNESCO report was published in 1953, there was little research evidence on which to base firm conclusions. In the intervening years, a number of studies relevant to the issue of vernacular versus second language instruction have appeared, and yet debate on this topic has often been more influenced by emotional and political factors than by the results of empirical research (Modiano, 1973; Engle, 1975; Bowen, 1977).

The problems of interpretation have been further complicated by the fact that reviewers have often tried to analyze the results of immersion programs for speakers of dominant languages along with the findings concerning home language programs for minority language children (Engle, 1975; Cohen and Laosa, 1976). In this review the two types of studies are considered separately, and a more consistent pattern of results emerges.

Interpretation of the empirical findings has also been difficult due to the existence of two versions of the theory: the positive and negative forms of the native language hypothesis (Baral, 1979a).

Stated in negative terms, the hypothesis attributes the poor performance of minority language children to a "linguistic mismatch" between home and school (Bowen, 1977; Cummins, 1979). Stated in a positive form, the hypothesis predicts that children will learn to read better in a second language, and will attain greater mastery of content areas, if they are first taught to read in their home language, and if subject matter is originally introduced in that language (Engle, 1975). The two versions of the hypothesis require different kinds of evidence for empirical validation.

The Negative Version

There are important commonalities in the response of diverse groups of minority language students to a shift in language from home to school. In the United States, the academic retardation of Spanish-speaking students in English language programs has been well-documented in a number of national surveys (Coleman et al., 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975; Carter and Segura, 1979).

The evidence from Latin America clearly demonstrates that speakers of indigenous languages do poorly in the Spanish language schools of a number of countries, including Mexico (Modiano, 1973), Peru (Van Den Berghe, 1978), Ecuador (Dillworth and Stark, 1975), and Paraguay (Rubin, 1968).

Similar results have been reported for linguistic minorities in Europe. For example, few children of guest-workers in Germany, who speak a variety of languages, go on to secondary education (Rist, 1979). Finnish immigrant students also experience severe difficulties in Swedish schools (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976).

The Positive Version

A review of research conducted outside the United States (Baral, 1979a, 1982) reveals sixteen studies that involved a direct test of the effectiveness of instruction in the home language, through the use of control groups receiving only instruction in the second language. Ten studies found that the home language approach was superior (Malherbe, 1946; Grieve and Taylor, 1952; Orata, 1953; Burns, 1968; Gudschinsky, 1971; Modiano, 1973; Dillworth and Stark, 1975; Murtagh, 1980; Gayle et al., 1981; Tucker, 1981). Five studies found no substantial differences between experimental and control groups (Bovet, 1932; Macnamara, 1966; Ramos et al., 1967; Tucker et al., 1970; Ladefoged et al., 1971). Only one study (Pozzi-Escot, 1972) found that direct instruction in the second language was superior.

These studies demonstrated the positive effects of initial home language instruction on later learning of the national language in many diverse settings. For example, Modiano (1973) found that in the Chiapas highlands of Mexico, students who had been taught to read in their native language during a preschool year did better in Spanish reading than a carefully matched control group which had begun schooling directly in Spanish. In a study conducted in the Philippine Islands, Orata (1953) also found positive linguistic transfer effects, but the full benefits of the home language approach did not appear until the end of the elementary grades. In the Philippine study, students who had received two years of initial instruction in the home language followed by an abrupt shift to the dominant language were behind the control group at the end of the fourth grade in reading, language, and arithmetic. However, by the end of the sixth grade, the results were reversed, and the experimental group was superior in reading, arithmetic, and social studies.

One of the most interesting studies showing the appropriateness of bilingual rather than monolingual instruction comes from Western Nigeria (Tucker, 1981). Since 1970 a comprehensive program of bilingual instruction has been undertaken in the Yoruba-speaking areas of that country. The Nigerian bilingual design involves the use of the Yoruba language as primary medium of instruction throughout the elementary grades, with English taught as a second language. The transition from Yoruba to English takes place at the secondary level. The results of a carefully controlled study comparing the performance of students in the experimental Yoruba bilingual program and students who received all of their primary education in English have demonstrated *that more students in the bilingual program* successfully pass their primary school exit examinations and thus qualify for entry into the secondary school (Tucker, 1981). It should also be pointed out that "a robust Yoruba Language Arts program continues during the secondary level" (Tucker, 1981, p. 5).

Two studies of the effects of bilingual instruction on Australian Aboriginal students have recently been reported in the United States. The first study (Murtagh, 1980) involved Creole-speaking children in Australia's Northern Territory. Students receiving bilingual instruction were compared with students from similar backgrounds who received instruction only in English. The study found that students attending bilingual schools did progressively better in spite of the fact that they had only half as much exposure to English language instruction. Bilingually schooled students also demonstrated more success in separating English from Creole, and negative transfer from the Creole to English decreased considerably as these students progressed from grades 1 to 3.

The second study (Gayle et al., 1981) investigated the effects of bilingual and monolingual instruction on Milingimbi-speaking children who live on a small island located 300 miles east of Darwin. The study compared the English proficiency of students in a bilingual program and of a comparable group of students receiving all their instruction in English. Testing was conducted at the end of five, six, and seven years of schooling, and comparisons were made on a number of measures of English proficiency, including tests of oral English, English reading, and creative writing. The results of the study showed a similar pattern across most of the dependent measures: the bilingual group did better overall and the degree of their superiority increased with time. After seven years of schooling, differences favoring the bilingual group were highly significant statistically on most of the tests (Gayle et al., 1981).

The long-term effects of home language instruction found in research conducted outside the United States (Baral, 1982) have also begun to emerge as a significant research finding in this country. Leyba (1978) found that students who had remained continuously in the Santa Fe (New Mexico) bilingual program were at, or very close to, the *national* norms in English reading during grades 5-6, and they surpassed the performance of local control groups. The longitudinal evaluation of the Rock Point (Arizona) bilingual program showed similar results: in the sixth grade the bilingual program's students were close to the national norms in English reading and fully two years ahead of students in several control schools that did not have bilingual programs (Rosier and Holm, 1980).

Conclusions Concerning the Native Language Hypothesis

Both the positive and negative versions of the native language hypothesis appear to have considerable explanatory power when applied to minority language students. The benefits of the native language approach may not be detected in the early grades, but appear to be cumulative if the students remain in bilingual programs throughout the elementary years. However, the positive results of the immersion programs with middle-class speakers of dominant languages directly contradict these findings and demonstrate that there are limits to the generality of the native language hypothesis.

Immersion Programs: Results and Implications

The results of the French language immersion programs in Canada have been widely reported in professional journals (see Swain, 1974, for a review), and at least one program has replicated these findings in a Spanish language immersion program in the United States (Cohen, 1974). The success of the immersion programs has also been reported in the U.S. popular press, and critics of bilingual education have taken note. Some critics interpret the results of the immersion programs as evidence supporting a policy of direct instruction in English or early exit from bilingual programs. Sophisticated researchers are much more cautious in the inferences that they draw from the Canadian experience (Swain, 1974; Cummins, 1979; Tucker, 1979).

Immersion and Submersion Education

Certain superficial similarities notwithstanding, immersion programs for majority language children are quite different from dominant language programs for minority language children. Indeed, many authors use the term *submersion* rather than *immersion*, when referring to the experience of minority language children (Cohen, 1976; Lambert, 1977; Swain, 1978; Cummins, 1979).

Minority language children submerged in dominant language schools are usually grouped with native speakers of the dominant language for most of the school day, and they often become frustrated because of their inability to communicate with monolingual teachers. Special instruction in the child's dominant language is usually provided on a pull-out basis, and minority language students are often stigmatized as possessing "language handicaps" or "cognitive deficits." Use of the minority language is usually discouraged or even prohibited, and the language itself is often characterized as substandard.

In contrast, students in immersion programs are segregated in separate classrooms, at least during the early grades. Initially, all immersion students have limited competence in the language of the school. Second language instruction is provided in the natural context of the classroom, rather than pull-out programs. Teachers in the immersion programs are fully bilingual; they understand the language of the child and communicate positive attitudes toward this language, but they use only the second language in the classroom.

Apart from these important pedagogical differences, immersion programs differ from the normal experience of minority language students on a number of significant sociolinguistic dimensions. Students in immersion programs usually come from middle-class or upper-middle-class families (Lambert, 1977; Cohen, 1976). Successful immersion programs have generally enrolled only native speakers of English, the dominant language in the United States and Canada (Cohen, 1976). Finally, parental support for these programs is quite high, and in some instances the programs themselves have been initiated in response to parental pressures (Cohen, 1976).

Within the context of the present discussion of language acquisition theories, it is particularly important to note the salience of nonlinguistic factors in contrasting the two types of programs. It is not simply a case of instruction in one language versus instruction in two languages. Immersion and submersion programs embody different sets of instructional patterns of parental, teacher, and interethnic attitudes. All of these factors, or specific combinations of them, could be entertained as plausible rival hypotheses to explain the observed differences in student achievement.

Results of the Immersion Programs

While it is necessary to point out the important contrasts between immersion and submersion programs, the very positive effects of the immersion programs should not be overlooked. Extensive research supports the following conclusions:

1. Immersion programs are far superior to traditional foreign language programs in developing mastery of the French language.
2. Immersion students quickly catch up in English when formal instruction in this language is introduced.
3. Even when content is taught in French and testing is conducted in English, immersion students do as well as their peers who have received instruction only in English.

However, it should not be concluded from these positive findings that the language use of immersion students is indistinguishable from that of students whose native language is French. Evidence indicates that immersion students: (1) employ a simplified French verb structure, (2) use some English loan-words that are not part of the normal vocabulary of a French-speaking child, and (3) speak a classroom dialect of French that is characteristic of the immersion programs, perhaps because of the tendency of immersion teachers to be very supportive of the students' initial attempts to speak the language (see Swain, 1974, for a comprehensive review of the research).

Immersion Programs in Their Social Context

Immersion programs work in Canada. Evidence from many different programs in different sites confirms their positive effects on second language acquisition. Although immersion students are not indistinguishable from native speakers of French, their mastery of that language is impressive, and they have attained it apparently without prejudice to the development of their English language skills.

Immersion programs in Canada are quite different from submersion programs for minority language students in the United States, and are the result of a set of social conditions that are quite different from those prevailing in the United States. Therefore, it is unlikely that policy implications derived from the Canadian experience will be valid for minority language students in the United States.

While it is important to enter these caveats, one thing seems clear: the native language hypothesis cannot explain all cases involving a home-school language shift. The hypothesis is useful when applied to the experience of minority language students, but it fails to account for the successful acquisition of a second language by students in the immersion programs. Until very recently, no adequate explanation existed which could account for the different effects of a home-school language shift on minority language students and speakers of a dominant language.

Lambert (1977) contrasts the social situations in which bilingualism develops in these two cases. Immersion students, Lambert argues, are adding a socially relevant language of high prestige which will not replace their home language. The bilingualism of immersion students, then, is additive and it can be contrasted with

> a more "subtractive" form experienced by many ethnic groups who, because of national educational policies and social pressures of various sorts, are forced to put aside their ethnic language for a national language. Their degree of bilingualism at any time would be likely to reflect some stage in the subtraction of their ethnic language and the associated culture, and their replacement with another. (Lambert, 1977, pp. 18-19)

While Lambert's additive/subtractive distinction may be adequate at a descriptive level, it is not a fully elaborated theory of second language acquisition and has few immediate instructional implications.

Toward A New Synthesis

The growth of bilingual education in the United States has led to a renewed interest in the questions first addressed in the UNESCO statement: Is it best for a child to begin schooling in the home language? How long should home language instruction continue? When should a second language be introduced?

While most authorities currently reject the native language hypothesis as overly simplistic (Bowen, 1977; Cummins, 1979), several linguists have recently developed theories of second language acquisition which highlight the importance of instruction in the child's home language. The theories of Krashen (1981) and Cummins (1979, 1980, 1981) are representative of this trend, and these theories are discussed in the next sections of the paper.

Causative Variables in Second Language Acquisition

Krashen (1981) postulates a single causative variable in second language acquisition: comprehensible input. He argues that growth in second language learning is stimulated by exposure to linguistic input that is just beyond the learner's current level of understanding, but that can be assimilated "by utilizing context, extra-linguistic information, and our knowledge of the world" (Krashen, 1981, p. 58).

The degree to which input is comprehensible to the learner, however, can be strongly influenced by the effects of an "affective filter" (Dulay and Burt, 1977). When the filter is down, much more input can get through. A number of variables appear to influence the affective filter, among them anxiety, motivation, and self-confidence.

Submersion and immersion programs. Krashen (1981) points out that several aspects of his theory help to explain the different effects of immersion and submersion programs. Learners in the immersion programs are segregated from native speakers of the language, and this practice may increase the amount of comprehensible input. In submersion programs the teacher may teach to the level of linguistic sophistication of the native speakers in the class, and therefore much of the input may prove to be incomprehensible to minority language students. Students in submersion programs may also have a high "affective filter" because of negative attitudes toward their first language and prejudice directed toward their ethnic group. In summary, the differences between the effects of the two types of programs can be explained, according to Krashen, in terms of a combination of high comprehensibility and low affective filter for immersion students.

Implications for bilingual programs. Krashen stipulates three major requirements for a successful bilingual education program. First, the program must provide a lot of comprehensible input in the weaker language of the child. This condition is not met in submersion programs. Second, subject matter progress must be ensured by using either language. Krashen observes that

> children who are behind in subject matter and who are weak in the second language face double trouble. Their failure to understand will not only cause them to fall behind, but they will also fail to make progress in second language acquisition. Knowledge of subject matter thus has an indirect but very powerful effect on second language acquisition despite the fact that it may be provided in the students' first language. (Krashen, 1981, p. 68)

Third, Krashen argues that the child's first language should be maintained and developed. Although his argument in favor of home language instruction overlaps Cummins's theories at some points (see below), Krashen stresses the importance of not allowing children to fall behind in content areas and the possible affective consequences of instruction in the home language.

Summary. Krashen provides a succinct rationale for bilingual programs based primarily on an information processing model. Second language input must reach the learner and it must be comprehensible. The effects of "noise" must be reduced by lowering the affective filter. Krashen's theory has two principal virtues: it is parsimonious and it attributes success or failure in second language learning to factors that are largely under the control of the school.

Cummins's Theoretical Framework

Cummins has published a series of papers which propose a theoretical framework that is highly relevant to bilingual education (Cummins, 1979, 1980, 1981). Cummins's initial concern was to develop a single theory that would account for the different effects of a home-school language shift on minority language students and speakers of the dominant language (Cummins, 1979).

More recently he has stressed the implications of his theory for the development of bilingual programs in the United States. A common theme throughout his work is the central role of proficiency in the child's home language for success in second language learning situations. Three of the most important aspects of Cummins's theory are discussed below: (1) the threshold hypothesis, (2) the developmental interdependence hypothesis, and (3) the distinction between the cognitive and surface aspects of language proficiency.

The threshold hypothesis. Cummins argues that there are threshold levels of linguistic competence in the home language and the second language "which bilingual children must attain in order to avoid cognitive deficits and to allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence their cognitive growth" (1979, p. 229).

Cummins hypothesizes that there are two threshold levels. Below the lower level of linguistic competence, the bilingual child's ability to interact with his or her educational environment is severely restricted. Cummins originally described the lower levels of bilingual competence as "semilingualism," but recently he has substituted the term "limited bilingualism" (Cummins, 1981). The threshold hypothesis implies that these children will experience serious academic difficulties as they progress through elementary school and encounter increasing cognitive demands which they cannot meet with the limited linguistic repertoire at their command. Linguistic competence below the lower threshold level would account for the poor academic performance of minority language children in dominant language programs.

Cummins also proposes a higher threshold of linguistic competence, above which the additive form of bilingualism would become operative with substantial cognitive benefits for the bilingual child. Performance above the higher threshold is characteristic of students in the immersion programs.

Up to this point, Cummins's theory is primarily descriptive: the different effects of home-school language shifts are related to different levels of proficiency in the two languages. The second postulate of Cummins's theory is concerned with the functional relationship between competence levels in the home language (L1) and the second language (L2).

The developmental interdependence hypothesis. Cummins proposes that "the level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins" (1979, p. 223).

Cummins argues that middle-class students in immersion programs typically possess well-developed skills in the home language, and therefore are more likely to attain proficiency in the second language without losing ground in the first. Minority language students, in contrast, are less likely to possess well-developed skills in the home language, and therefore intensive exposure to a second language may have a destabilizing effect on the home language, which, in turn, would limit the development of proficiency in the second language (Troike, 1978).

According to Cummins, the quality of the home linguistic environment is crucial for the development of first language competence. Thus, for most middle-class majority language children, "the prerequisites for acquiring literacy skills are instilled . . . by their linguistic experience in the home" (Cummins, 1979, p. 234). In contrast, "low SES [socioeconomic status] minority language children may be more dependent on the school to provide the prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy skills" (Cummins, 1979, p. 240).

Therefore, Cummins concludes, the success of immersion programs is due in part to the strength of the home language which is relatively impervious to later "neglect" in the school. The success of the vernacular language programs, in contrast, appears to be due to the lack of development of the home language, prior to entering school.

Aspects of language proficiency. Cummins (1980) distinguishes between two aspects of language proficiency: basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), and cognitive-academic learning proficiency (CALP). While BICS represent those aspects of language proficiency which are salient in face-to-face communication situations, CALP is strongly related to the development of literacy skills in school.

Cummins (1980) argues that BICS are largely the result of maturation and reach a plateau soon after the child enters school. In contrast, CALP continues to develop throughout the school years, following the general curve for cognitive development, and is closely related to academic success or failure.

Cummins (1979) distinguishes three aspects of CALP which, he hypothesizes, play a significant role in the acquisition of literacy skills. The first aspect is vocabulary-concept knowledge, the ability to understand concepts and meanings embodied in words, as opposed to simple decoding skills. The second is metalinguistic awareness: insights into the nature of language, including the significant insight that print language is meaningful and that the written form of a language is different from speech. The third aspect of CALP is the ability to process decontextualized language, i.e., to manipulate language when it is taken out of the immediate interpersonal context.

Recently, Cummins has reformulated the distinction between BICS and CALP by expanding the dichotomy to a continuum whose extreme points are designated as "context embedded" and "context reduced."

> . . . [I]n context-embedded communication the participants can actively negotiate meaning (e.g., by providing feedback that the message has not been understood) and the language is supported by a wide range of meaningful paralinguistic (gestures, intonation, etc.) and situational cues; context-reduced communication, on the other hand, relies primarily (or at the extreme of the continuum, exclusively) on linguistic cues to meaning and may in some cases involve suspending knowledge of the "real" world in order to interpret (or manipulate) the logic of the communication appropriately. (Cummins, 1981, p. 11)

CALP development. Cummins argues that the three aspects of CALP described above "are all determined by the child's linguistic experience prior to school" (1979, p. 237). Differences in CALP development, then, are strongly related to social class differences in the home environment. While middle-class homes tend to provide rich linguistic environments and the prerequisites for successful literacy in school, lower-class homes, especially those in which the parents are not literate themselves, may provide a less promising linguistic experience because of the absence of reading materials, parents' failure to read to their children, and the lack of TV programs in the home language.

Implications for bilingual education. Cummins makes a strong case for the development of proficiency in the home language as a prerequisite to the successful acquisition of a second language. While he rejects the native language hypothesis because of the contradictory evidence of the immersion programs, his developmental interdependence hypothesis is consistent with the positive version of that hypothesis. Cummins argues that, although interpersonal communication aspects (BICS) of two languages may be quite different, the underlying cognitive aspects (CALP), which are highly significant for literacy, overlap to a considerable degree. Thus, time spent in home language instruction is not "wasted": students will eventually learn a second language better, with correspondingly higher degrees of academic success in second language programs, if they are allowed to develop the cognitive aspects of language proficiency through a bilingual program.

Cummins and Krashen reach the same conclusion about the desirability of home language instruction, although their reasoning is different. Krashen stresses the motivational effects of home language instruction on second language acquisition, and Cummins stresses the cognitive effects of home language proficiency on the underlying language development processes which lead to literacy.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has reviewed second language acquisition theories which have potential relevance for bilingual education. The oldest of these theories, the native language hypothesis, has often been advanced as a rationale for bilingual programs. The negative version of the theory is invoked to explain the failure of minority language children in dominant language schools, and the positive version to justify an alternative instructional system, bilingual education. When the negative version of this theory is examined from the perspective of a general theory of second language acquisition, it proves to be inadequate because of the contradictory evidence provided by the Canadian language immersion programs. The positive version of the theory, which predicts the facilitating effect of home language instruction on second language acquisition, is supported by a growing body of research, and this aspect of the original hypothesis has been incorporated, with some modifications, into recent theories of second language acquisition.

Krashen has proposed a single causal variable for second language learning — comprehensible input — and Cummins has developed a complex theory dealing with the relationships between first and second language acquisition. Although following different routes, both Cummins and Krashen conclude that first language competence is crucial to the acquisition of a second language, especially the process of literacy in a second language.

There appears, then, to be a growing convergence of linguistic theories toward a position on second language acquisition that is quite supportive of bilingual education. However, I feel that we must be cautious about adopting a theory of bilingual education that is primarily linguistic in character. Several general points concerning the relevance of second language acquisition theories to bilingual education must be made.

First, not all authorities on second language acquisition draw the same conclusions as Cummins and Krashen concerning the importance of proficiency in the home language. For example, McLaughlin (1978) and Hatch (1978) cite the need for conducting more empirical studies of second language acquisition before developing broad theories.

Second, although Cummins has produced a complex theory containing several suggestive hypotheses, these hypotheses have never been fully tested, especially in the context of bilingual education in the United States. Evidence exists which is consistent with Cummins's formulations (Baral, 1980), but the theory has not yet been fully tested in a systematic fashion.

Third, a purely linguistic theory excludes many potentially relevant variables which appear to influence second language acquisition. A listing of some of these variables is presented in Table 1 in which they are grouped in four general categories: linguistic, affective, social, and input factors. The theories reviewed in this paper are primarily concerned with linguistic and input factors that are closely related to instructional variables; but it is clear that social and affective factors, though more remote from the classroom, can play a powerful role in second language acquisition (Schumann, 1978). It would be overly simplistic to conclude that a successful bilingual program succeeds only because two languages are used, or that minority language children fail in dominant language programs merely because of the effects of language switching.

Finally, some of the policy implications of the theories invoked to justify bilingual instruction need to be discussed. The tendency to view bilingual education within a compensatory education framework is already well established, and reliance on second language acquisition theories as a major justification for bilingual instruction may further strengthen this tendency. The present

Table 1
Factors Influencing Second Language Acquisition*

Linguistic	The native language hypothesis (UNESCO, 1953)
	Types of bilingualism: additive versus subtractive (Lambert, 1977), semilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979), the threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1979)
	Relationship between proficiency in L1 and acquisition of L2 (Cummins, 1979, 1981)
Affective	Affective filter (Dulay and Burt, 1977; Krashen, 1981)
	Motivation to learn L2 (Lambert, 1977)
	Language and culture shock (Schumann, 1978)
	Teacher expectations (Baral, 1979b)
Social	National language policies (Perkins, 1979; Academy for Educational Development, 1981)
	Structural relations between dominant and subordinate groups (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979)
	Degree of acculturation (Schumann, 1978)
	Relative prestige of L1 and L2 (Lambert, 1977)
	Family background characteristics (Cummins, 1979)
Input	Immersion versus submersion (Swain, 1979)
	Comprehensible input (Krashen, 1981)
	Use of home language (Cummins, 1981; Krashen, 1981)

*Adapted from Schumann (1978, p. 28).

rationale for bilingual education is based on limited conceptions of who "needs" bilingual instruction, why they need it, and when they are ready to be exited to the "regular" English language program (Cummins, 1980, 1981).

It would be highly desirable to examine an alternative rationale for bilingual education which is based on the broader social perspective of a national language policy. This perspective was suggested in the "Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies" (Perkins, 1979) and more fully developed in the recent Academy for Educational Development/Hazen Foundation's memorandum on bilingual education (Academy for Educational Development, 1982). This report argues for a new view of bilin-

gual education "as a means of answering an increasingly recognized need in U.S. society — the development of greater foreign language competency in an ever-shrinking world in which international communication is not only desirable in its own right but a prerequisite to our security and economic welfare" (Academy for Educational Development, 1982, p. 1).

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CHAPTER 2

The Age Factor in Mother Tongue Maintenance and in the Development of English Proficiency of Overseas Japanese Children

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Introduction

Age is a critical factor for the development of English language proficiency in minority language children who are also trying to retain their parental language in an English-dominant environment. The discussion in this paper is based on the analysis of data originally collected for a joint project conducted during 1980 and 1981 at the University of Toronto[1]; this paper, however, is not meant to be a report of that research but rather my own interpretations of the data from a different perspective.

The group of children chosen for this study are unique among children of minority backgrounds in North America in that they are not immigrants: they are Japanese children who temporarily reside in North America because of their parents' business assignments and receive their compulsory education in local English-medium schools. These children form a homogeneous group with high socioeconomic status and an excellent educational background, and their parents strongly wish them to maintain their mother tongue while developing English proficiency as an additional skill; hence, the possibility of producing additive bilingualism among children of minority background can be tested in the strictest sense.

Another point unique to these children is that they have an extremely strong, academically oriented weekend program to assist them in the retention and continued development of their first language (L1). Although L1-medium schooling for minority language children has been recognized as one way to assure their academic success and bilingual development, it is not readily available to all minority language children, nor is it likely to be so in the near future, for political and budgetary reasons. The effectiveness of extracurricular, weekend academic programs should be explored as an alternative for L1-medium instruction within the school curriculum.

If Japanese children from this group cannot maintain their native language and can only learn English at the expense of Japanese, the pressure of the dominant language may be so overwhelming that any immigrant children whose parents are not as strongly motivated to have them retain their mother tongue are not likely to succeed. Policies and efforts which are directed toward the retention of the ethnic languages of minority children should then be reviewed and altered accordingly.

Background

There are approximately 28,000 Japanese children overseas in various parts of the world, of whom more than 7,000 are in North America. For these children there are seventy full-time Japanese schools (of which only two are in North America) and eighty-five weekend programs called *hoshuukoo* (thirty-four in North America); both types of schools are funded by the Japanese government and local parents' groups. The primary objective of these schools is to teach the children academic subjects in Japanese, using the same textbooks and almost the same approach as are used with their peers in Japan, so that the children will have fewer reentry problems when they return to Japan and try to readjust to the highly competitive schools there. The content of the *hoshuukoo* program varies somewhat from school to school, especially in terms of the degree of emphasis on academic subjects. For example, *hoshuukoo* in Toronto is one of the strongest in this sense because it teaches four subjects (Japanese language, mathematics, science, and social studies) on Saturdays from 9:00 to 2:30; many schools teach only Japanese language. The Toronto *hoshuukoo* now has more than 400 students, in all grades from kindergarten to grade 12. In spite of such enormous support for L1 retention, however, the children tend to lose their Japanese as they become proficient in English. Many of the returning children who lack adequate Japanese proficiency have now become a serious social and educational problem in Japan because the number of returning children is constantly growing, with an almost 80 percent increase in the past six years.

Why is the retention of the mother tongue for minority language children so difficult? Surely many factors contribute to the situation, but here I should like to point out four major problems involved in the retention of the first language, which are often overlooked: (1) psychological problems, (2) time and quality of interaction, (3) parental attitude, and (4) lack of research.

Psychological Problems

Psychologically conflicting mechanisms are involved in the two processes of learning a new language and trying not to forget the language that one had once spoken fluently. The former mechanism is associated with hope, encouragement, and a sense of achievement; the latter with frustration, despair, and loss of confidence. When a child is thrown into local English-speaking schools, he or she usually learns the new language from scratch out of sheer necessity. Even a small amount of L2 learning, no matter how insignificant it may be in terms of ultimately attaining the required level, gives him or her a sense of satisfaction because it always represents a personally significant gain. The child's learning always receives his or her parents' admiration, particularly because he or she soon outperforms them in English. This parental attitude constantly gives hope and self-confidence to the child. On the other hand, parents have a definite advantage over their children in L1 retention. Parents do not forget their language as children do. In the home, which in most cases is the only place children can use their first language, they are confronted with perfect speakers of the language. Any attempts to use that language can often be met with criticism and strict corrections, because the parents are not tolerant of small slips in their native language. It is very painful for parents to hear their children speaking their language incorrectly. Since it hurts their feelings deeply, the parents often become more strict than necessary, when in fact they should be encouraging their children to use their language even if they make a few mistakes. The children usually do not understand why their parents are so upset about the way they speak. Nor do the children understand why they can no longer speak the language as easily and fluently as they used to. As a result, as the children advance in L2 learning, they try to avoid using their weaker language, and eventually refuse to use it in the home just to avoid embarrassment.

Time and Quality of Interaction

The amount of time spent on and the quality of exposure to a language are markedly different in the processes of acquiring L2 and retaining L1. Children are exposed to English throughout their school life via school-related activities and in the larger environment, which includes street signs, magazines, TV, and movies, whereas exposure to their first language is in most cases limited to family life and activities of the ethnic community. As children become more involved in school-related activities, a considerable proportion of their waking time is spent using English while the time spent with their family becomes minimal.

The children's school life may be interesting and challenging because it stimulates them socially, emotionally, and cognitively. Family life, however, cannot be expected to be equally stimulating, particularly in the case of newly arrived parents who themselves must struggle for survival in a foreign environment and naturally cannot be expected to have much time for intellectually stimulating interaction with their children. With this limited exposure, the children soon find their mother tongue to be inadequate for expressing their new ideas and feelings. This situation can be somewhat improved if children can already read and write in their native language and therefore can expand their knowledge through L1 by reading books. However, if children are not yet able to read and depend solely on oral communication with their parents or older siblings for L1 retention, there is not much hope that their first language will develop as rapidly as necessary to match their mental and cognitive growth.

Another point is that as they grow older, peer interaction means more to children than parent-child interaction. In his large-scale study of the process of how 500 children underwent a linguistic shift from standard Japanese to a local dialect, Shibata (1956) found evidence that children's language behavior is affected most by their peers, next by their older siblings, and next by their parents, especially their mother. The school language in which they interact with their peers naturally becomes more important to children than the language of their parents, which not many of their friends understand.

Parental Attitude

Newly arrived parents tend to feel ambivalent toward the retention of their mother tongue and, as a result, tend to lose that control over their children's language behavior that seems to be necessary to successful L1 retention. When children start to prefer English and refuse to use their ethnic language in the home, apparently parents can adopt one of three possible approaches: (1) They can admit the fact that English is the language in which the children feel most comfortable and which is at the same time most important for their academic survival, taking a positive attitude toward English and accepting it as a home language. In this case, parents often jeopardize the quality of their interaction with their children because many parents are not very proficient in English. The English language acquired by these children may reflect foreign traits through exposure to their parents' English. (2) They can make a strict rule that no language other than their own is accepted in the home and insist that their children use it whenever speaking to them. In a longitudinal study, Wells (1979) found that the quality of the interaction between children and their parents is strongly related to academic success, including reading. It seems to be important for children's cognitive development that their parents talk and read to them in the language in which the parents feel most comfortable. In this respect, this approach seems to be superior, but at the same time more difficult, because it requires tremendous discipline and control over their children. (3) The parents can simply keep using their own language, and let their children choose either L1 or L2 in the home, as they prefer. Since the children come to prefer using L2 as they become more proficient in it, this approach will also jeopardize normal parent-child verbal communication, because the parents do not have enough English to understand what their children say and the children do not have enough knowledge of their L1 to understand their parents. Newly arrived parents from Japan, whether immigrants or temporary residents, tend to take this approach because, coming from a unicultural and unilingual country, they are not prepared to deal with two languages. Some parents, although they are basically interested in their children's maintenance of L1, become too concerned with the children's acquisition of English, especially during the first two years, and neglect their retention of L1 without realizing that these two years' neglect could have a detrimental effect on L1, especially in the case of younger children.

Lack of Research

There is a tremendous amount of literature on L2 acquisition but the study of children's loss of L1 has not received much attention. We do not know much about how normal children lose their language. Which aspects of language proficiency deteriorate faster than others, how, and why? Without having much knowledge about preventing this deterioration or how to deal with the psychological problems associated with it, many teachers and administrators often give parents conflicting advice.

When we realize that minority language children are struggling between the home language and the school language in the way just described, and that many of them do not have a normal interaction with their parents in either L1 or L2 to assist their cognitive/academic development, it is not at all surprising to find that they fall behind the children with English-speaking backgrounds not only in their English skills but also in their general academic performance. As Swain says, "Many children with minority language backgrounds who had had an all-English education fell far below the norms on tests of English skills, academic, and cognitive development" (1981, p. 6). To rectify the situation, "one solution provided was to educate the children in their first language, while teaching ESL" (ibid.). In fact, recent experimental programs such as the Rock Point Navajo Program in the United States, the Ukrainian-English Bilingual Program in Canada, and the Sodeltalje Program for Finnish Immigrant Children in Sweden all point to the fact that the use of L1 as a medium of instruction is the best way yet devised to promote first language proficiency of minority language children as well as their English proficiency (Cummins, 1980).

Optimal Age

In the attempt to find an explanation for the success of L1-medium schools for minority children, as well as for the success of L2-medium schools for majority language children, Cummins (1979, 1982) proposed the L1-L2 linguistic interdependence hypothesis, claiming that L1 and L2 are manifestations of the same underlying linguistic proficiency, and are mutually related. Thus, the level of children's first language is a good predictor of both their continued L1 development and their L2 acquisition, when given ample exposure to both languages. The level of their second language, when it is highly developed, is a good predictor of their continued L2 acquisition and L1 development, when children have enough exposure to and motivation to learn both languages. In other words, the more that children are cognitively and academically mature in their first language, the better their chances of maintaining it. Likewise, older children who are more mature in their first language at the time of extensive exposure to L2 are at an advantage in the acquisition of L2 academic skills over younger children whose mother tongue is less well developed.

How mature, then, should a child of minority background be in his or her cognitive development and L1 proficiency if he or she does not want to lose L1 in the process of L2 acquisition? What is the relationship between age on arrival and the possibility of retaining L1 proficiency? There are several studies that deal directly with this issue of the optimal age of minority language children.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1966), for example, found that children who migrated to Sweden at the age of ten and were exposed to L2 (Swedish) schooling maintained a level of Finnish proficiency close to that of students in Finland. They also developed a level of Swedish proficiency comparable to that of their Swedish peers, whereas children who came to Sweden when they were from seven to eight years old tended to show a low level of development in both languages.

Nomoto (1967) conducted a questionnaire survey of 125 Japanese children in London, England. Parents were asked to give subjective evaluations of their children's competence in both L1 (Japanese) and L2 (English) in six language areas: speaking, hearing, reading, writing, counting, and thinking. Some of his findings are:

1. Reading and writing skills of L1 rapidly decline as the children's period of residence becomes longer. However, those who have already reached the age of ten at the time of entry are able to maintain a high level of reading skills in Japanese.
2. In the areas of thinking and speaking, the older the children are at the time of arrival, the better these are retained. When they remain in London more than two and a half years, 50 percent of the children use English even when speaking to their parents and 69 percent of them use English among siblings.
3. As for the retention of Japanese as the home language, children who were older than ten when they moved to London

were the least affected, and for the children who were less than six on arrival, the degree of L1 retention as the home language was less than 50 percent.

4. Among the six areas, counting most clearly shows the shift of language dominance from L1 (Japanese) to L2 (English). For the children who had already reached the age of eight before extensive exposure to L2, counting remained the strongest area in Japanese, whereas for the children who were less than eight, counting became the weakest of the Japanese language areas.

Minoura (1981) conducted a longitudinal study of Japanese overseas and returning children from about eighty families in both Los Angeles and Tokyo from 1976 to 1981. Some of her findings are:

1. For children who had not reached the age of six before extensive exposure to English, 84 percent of them became more proficient in L2 (English) than in L1 (Japanese) during their one-and-a-half-year stay. The children who arrived at the age of seven to ten required about two-and-a-half to three years before they were able to follow L2-medium instruction, though there was a considerable amount of individual difference.
2. As for the retention of Japanese as a home language, children who were younger than nine on arrival replaced L1 with L2 easily, but those who had already reached nine at the time of entry could retain L1 in the home.
3. Children who were nine or older on arrival tended to become proficient in both languages.

On the basis of this study Minoura proposed that the critical age for bilingual development would be somewhere around the age of nine.

Ohama (1982) surveyed 651 Japanese students attending *hoshuukoo* in Chicago, the District of Columbia, Seattle, Melbourne, and Geneva. In her study of their vocabulary comprehension based on the Lord and Norvick model (1968), she found the following:

1. As their length of residence grew, these children's average scores on multiple choice tests of thirty to sixty Japanese lexical items tended to become lower than those of monolingual children in Japan.
2. The rate of development of vocabulary comprehension in L1 was slowest among those who were born out of Japan or who

were of preschool age at the time of arrival, next slowest for those in grades 1 and 2 at the time of arrival, next for those in grades 3 and 4, and fastest for those in grades 7, 8, and 9. Those who had reached the age of ten before arriving seemed to develop in the same way and almost at the same rate as Japanese monolinguals in Japan, but those who arrived before the age of ten tended to fall behind and seemed to have a different mechanism for acquiring vocabulary.

3. The level of vocabulary comprehension was found to be significantly correlated with the child's preference for reading in L1 and the child's liking for reading books.
4. Most of the children whose language dominance had shifted from L1 (Japanese) to L2 (English) had lived a long time overseas and were low in Japanese language proficiency. However, it was also observed that some L2-dominant children who loved reading books could develop an age-appropriate level of vocabulary comprehension in L1.

These findings consistently point to the fact that children nine or ten years and older have a definite advantage in L1 retention over younger children, eight or nine and under; the findings also indicate that the impact of age difference varies somewhat according to which language skills are looked at, whether reading and vocabulary comprehension, oral skills, or counting. Shibata and his colleagues, in their town-wide study of language shift of Japanese children who moved from Tokyo to Shirakawa city (1956), found evidence on the basis of phonological and lexical changes that children between the ages of five and thirteen are most prone to make a language shift to a second dialect under the influence of school and the larger environment. He then proposed that ages five to thirteen are the formative years of a child's language, which he called the *gengo keiseiki* (language formation period). The research findings just reviewed seem to indicate that those children whose age on arrival is during the first half of the language formation period (LFP), as shown in the following table, generally develop less adequate L1 and L2 proficiencies, and that those who arrive during the second half of the LFP are able to retain and develop L1 language skills closer to the grade norm of children in Japan, in addition to L2 proficiency. It should be noted that this LFP corresponds with the normal growth of a child's intelligence, the major part of which is also assumed to be developed between the ages of four and thirteen. Bloom, for example, states that "in terms of intelligence measured at age seventeen, at least 20 percent is developed by age one, 50 percent by about age four, 80 percent by about age eight, and 92 percent by age thirteen" (1964, p. 68).

Language Formation Period (LFP)

Grade level	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Approximate Age	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	First LFP					Second LFP			

The Relationship between Age and Kinds of Language Proficiency

Pursuing the issues of age, age on arrival, and its relevance to L1 retention and L2 acquisition, we directed our research toward the relevance of age and age on arrival to the development of different aspects of language proficiency — that is, academic/cognitive language proficiency and communicative language proficiency. Cummins (1979, 1982) proposed this distinction to account for the fact that minority language children's academic language proficiency in L2 often has been overestimated because of their L2 communicative skills, which appear to develop much faster than the academic language proficiency needed to benefit from L2-medium instruction. To solve a math problem in school, for example, a child must be able to operate in some language, whether L1 or L2, at an abstract level, but asking his or her sibling to turn on the TV in the home does not require much thinking in either language. In daily face-to-face conversation, children can depend on situational and nonverbal cues, such as pointing, waving, and facial expressions. They may easily communicate no matter how fragmentary or grammatically incorrect their sentences are. Most children, irrespective of their level of intelligence, seem to acquire L1 communicative proficiency as they grow. From the developmental point of view, communicative proficiency seems to reach its plateau quite early in the child's language development, i.e., during the first half of the LFP, while the cognitive-academic aspect of language proficiency grows gradually over the entire period.

To investigate children's L2 acquisition and L1 retention from both points of view, cognitive-academic language proficiency and communicative language proficiency, a battery of English and Japanese tests was given to ninety-one Japanese children grouped in grades 2 and 3 (ages seven and nine) and grades 5 and 6 (ages ten and twelve), residing in Toronto between six and seventy-five months. All were attending English-medium schools, mostly with ESL programs, on weekdays and a *hoshuukoo* on Saturdays. None had had formal instruction in English prior to arrival. For the parents, the home language was predominantly Japanese, but 38 percent of the children used either only English or both English and Japanese. As a group, they were obviously strongly motivated to retain their L1 because they spent an average of nine to ten hours during the week studying the Japanese language and other Japanese school subjects. To measure Japanese academic language proficiency, a standardized reading comprehension test was used so that the degree of retention could be compared with that of Japanese monolingual peers in Japan *(Standardized Reading Comprehension Test,* 1979). For English academic language proficiency, a battery of tests (reading comprehension, vocabulary, sentence repetition, antonyms, and choice of prepositions) were given, two of them individually and the others in groups *(Gates-McGinitie Reading Test,* 1980). To gauge communicative proficiency in Japanese and English, each child was interviewed at home and given tests which included informal conversation, telephone role-playing, picture sequence storytelling, and picture description.

Some of the results relevant to this topic are summarized in the following sections.

Acquisition of L2 (English)

For English academic language proficiency the group of ten-to-twelve-year-olds, as hypothesized, did significantly better (in terms of the t test) in four of the English academic measures: reading comprehension, vocabulary, antonyms, and prepositions. In terms of rate of learning, a considerable amount of individual difference was noted among the children who stayed between one and four years. Some grade 2 children, for example, took only about two years to reach a grade-approximate level of English reading, while some other children of the same age took almost four years to reach it. Most grade 5 students who were tested on the same grade 2 instrument, however, easily attained the grade 2 norm within two to three years. This does not imply, however, that older children can develop an age-appropriate level of English academic proficiency faster than younger ones. Older children may need at least four years or so to develop an age-approximate level of L2 academic proficiency and probably more for developing the productive aspects of L2 academic proficiency, e.g., the requisite skills for writing a paper. An interesting finding was the large discrepancy between the parents' estimate of their children's English proficiency and the results of the tests. The fact that 90 percent of the parents replied in a questionnaire survey that their children became able to follow L2 instruction in fewer than two years indicates how optimistic many of the parents of minority language children are. They tend to overestimate their children's English skills and overlook the fact that the children cannot adequately absorb knowledge through L2 instruction for at least two to four years.

The interdependency of L1 and L2 academic language proficiency was supported by both a partial correlation analysis controlled for length of stay and a regression analysis of the data. English academic proficiency measures were all significantly correlated with Japanese academic language proficiency. For example, English reading measures were correlated (r = .46-.52) with Japanese reading comprehension (p<.01). This is particularly significant when we consider that English and Japanese are culturally, structurally, and orthographically extremely dissimilar. Age on arrival was also significantly correlated with most of the English measures, especially reading, vocabulary, antonyms, and prepositions (r = .30-.38) when the length of residence was controlled (p<.05). According to the regression analysis, 53 percent of the variance in English reading was accounted for by length of residence, Japanese academic proficiency, and age. After the effect of length of residence (30 percent) was removed, Japanese academic proficiency accounted for an additional 19 percent and age for 4 percent.

The children who had arrived with no formal education — that is, at the ages of four (nursery school) and five (kindergarten) — were particularly slow in developing English reading. The average scores of such children who were in grade 2 at the time of testing were 13.5 out of 40 (grade norm = 32), while the scores of grade 2 children who had moved to Canada after they had begun their formal education averaged 27.0. The younger arrivals also did poorly in the Japanese academic proficiency test, suggesting that simultaneous development of biliteracy for this age group might be difficult. Of course, if they stay long enough in English schools, they seem to pick up English skills eventually, but there is not much hope of their Japanese proficiency growing normally unless a strong L1 academic program is provided.

In the acquisition of communicative proficiency, contrary to the common assumption that younger children learn a second language faster than older children, the older ones did as well as the younger ones. In fact, the ten-to-twelve-year-olds did significantly better in some areas, such as giving an appropriate response, using cohesive devices effectively, and choosing a sociolinguistically appropriate form — all of which seem to require a relatively greater amount of cognitive functioning than, say, pronunciation (in which the seven-to-eight-year-olds did slightly better, but the difference was not statistically significant).

However, the older children's disadvantage in learning a new language through immersion was also observed in two areas. First, older children seem to need more time before they start talking in the new language. Although they have a good understanding, older children tend to keep silent in school (except in ESL class) for a longer time — almost two years in one extreme case. This seems to suggest that the older the child is, the greater the difference is in his or her rate of learning between receptive and productive academic skills.

Second, older children approaching puberty have more adjustment problems in a new environment because they take their language handicap too seriously. Taking this puberty-related problem into consideration, children aged ten or so on arrival seem to have the greatest advantage because they are proficient enough in their first language and at the same time have the potential for developing an appropriate L2 academic proficiency before they reach mid-adolescence.[2]

Retention of L1 (Japanese)

In the retention of academic language proficiency, our results show that grades 5 and 6 children obtained slightly higher scores (56.8 for grade 5 and 51.5 for grade 6, compared with a standardized score of 50 for monolingual students) than their peers in Japan, but grade 3 children were almost the same (50.1) and grade 2 students slightly behind (45.0). There was a tendency for the Japanese academic proficiency of grade 2 and grade 3 children to decline as their stay lengthened. In the case of grade 2 children, their scores gradually dropped when the length of stay exceeded two years, but in the case of grade 3 children this drop seemed to occur after about three years. For grade 5 and grade 6 children, there was no indication of gradual decline of the scores with length of stay; instead, individual differences were more noticeable. This seems to imply that those who moved to North America before the age of six — that is, before they started formal education — developed their Japanese academic proficiency much slower than their peers in Japan, despite the very demanding academic program on the weekends. For those children who have already started schooling in Japan, however, L1 retention may be possible if ample motivation and academic training are given, whether extracurricular or within the school curriculum.

This result is consistent with the findings of the recent study of 158 Japanese children in the Melbourne *hoshuukoo* in Australia (1980). The children in grades 5 to 8 (ages 10 to 14) did significantly better than those in grades 1 to 4 (ages 6 to 9) on the standardized Japanese language achievement test. The scores of the younger group gradually declined as the children stayed longer, although their IQ and mathematics scores were higher than the national norm; in fact, their mathematics scores showed a gradual increase as the length of stay became longer. In the Japanese test, however, a sharp drop in scores was noted among the younger children whose length of stay had been between two and three years, and another drastic drop appeared among those who had stayed for more than four years. The average scores of the older children were constantly above the grade norm except for those who moved to Australia as immigrants or those who stayed more than five years.

In our study, the decline in L1 proficiency among the seven-to-nine-year-olds was more obvious in their communicative skills than in their academic skills. It was interesting to observe that the children, although most of them were quite responsive and cooperative in the English interview, were not responding as well in the Japanese interview. Many of them spoke Japanese with difficulty and did poorly in most of the items in which oral proficiency was rated (nine out of eleven), such as "richness in conversation," "comprehending what an interviewer says," and "choosing a sociologically appropriate form." Negative transfer from English was also more evident in their speech at various levels: phonological, lexico-semantical, and syntactical. It has become obvious that the L1 communicative proficiency of children who arrive during the first half of their LFP will be affected by exposure to L2, but that of children who arrive during the second half of this period is not likely to be affected.

Other evidence suggested that younger children were undergoing a shift of dominant language competence from L1 (Japanese) to L2 (English). One was the parents' report on the children's language preference. The seven-to-nine-year-olds tended to prefer either Japanese or English, but not both. For example, for the first two years of stay, 86 percent of the children in grade 2 preferred Japanese, but after three years, 100 percent preferred English. In the case of grade 3 children, this shift of preference seemed to occur a little later, when they had been in L2 school for more than four years. The language preference of the ten-to-twelve-year-olds, on the other hand, did not appear to be so clearly marked, and there were more cases of liking both languages.

Other evidence was the parents' report on the children's use of incorrect forms of Japanese that were assumed to be affected by the exposure to English. Seventy-three percent of the grade 2 children, for instance, were reported to have such errors in Japanese, compared with 37.5 percent of the grade 5 children. Moreover, these incorrect forms began to appear among the younger ones as early as six months after their arrival, and in two years every child was reported to have this problem. On the other hand, older children did not seem to experience much interference until after three to four years of stay. The types of such interference were also different between the two age groups. Most of the systematic errors of the older group were on the lexico-semantic or stylistic levels, but those of the younger group were on various aspects of language: phonological, lexical, syntactical, and ethnographical. Apparently, older students were able to monitor and inspect language input and keep the two linguistic systems apart, without merging them.

Our findings are consistent with what Engle (1975) said in connection with Giles's hypothesis, in her extensive study of minority children's schooling:

> There is an optimal period of readiness to learn a second language based on the child's conceptual ability to handle two language systems; he (Giles) predicts that the child will face more interference between the languages before [his or her] native language system is developed (between 7 and 10) than [he or she] will after that period. (pp. 311-312)

With respect to the relationship between academic language proficiency and communicative proficiency in a weaker language, one interesting point has emerged from the factor analysis of the data. One of the three factors that accounted for 69 percent of the total variance in the Japanese language proficiency measures was interpreted as Fluency-Pronunciation-Academic Proficiency. The implications are that communicative skills and academic language proficiency are closely related, especially in the language that is undergoing decline, and that the aspect of language proficiency that declines first is fluency, then pronunciation, and then academic proficiency. When children start losing fluency and become halting in speech, and when some of their L1 sounds become affected by L2 pronunciation, it appears that this phonological weakening inevitably affects the children's academic proficiency. They no longer comprehend or read in their first language as fast as they used to. The children's rate of speaking is likely to be an indicator of the speed at which they could comfortably handle semantic information in that language. In other words, communicative language proficiency of the language in decline seems to reflect the children's general competence in that language.

Conclusion

In short, L1 communicative language proficiency of younger children will probably be replaced with L2. The critical period at which this shift is likely to occur is perhaps two years after the children's arrival or after two years of schooling if the children were born in the host country. In this respect, the role of the parents of minority language background children cannot be overemphasized. They should talk to their children, and encourage them to talk, in their own language in the home so that their children will not lose their oral fluency. Once oral proficiency is impaired, continued development of the L1 becomes minimal.

To summarize, Japanese children who move to North America after the age of ten or so — that is, in the latter half of the language formation period — are likely to retain their first language when they are supported by their parents and participate in academically oriented L1 programs on weekends or after school hours. However, for those who are exposed to the second language before they have reached nine or so — that is, in the first half of the language formation period — or those who were born in North America, weekend programs are helpful but not sufficient. Ethnic nurseries, L1 kindergartens, and L1-medium instruction in the schools seem to be necessary to protect their mother tongue and to give them a basis for higher attainment in both their first and second languages.

Notes

[1] For a detailed report of the project, see J. Cummins et al., "Linguistic Interdependence among Japanese and Vietnamese Immigrant Students," *The Measurement of Communicative Proficiency: Models and Applications*, edited by C. Rivera (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1982).

[2] Lambert and Klineberg (1967), in their cross-national study of children's views of foreign peoples, found that the age of ten or so is perhaps the most beneficial developmental period for introducing a new culture. They say that at this age level children are likely to view foreign people as different but at the same time interesting. Before and after the age of ten, children tend to associate "different" with "bad."

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CHAPTER 3

Applying the Cummins Language Proficiency Model to Students Who Acquire Language Bimodally

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Introduction

In the last decade, educators and parents have taken many positive steps in accepting hearing-impaired students as "people who are Deaf"* rather than as "people who cannot hear." That is, the goal of intelligible speech no longer appears to be the major focus of the education of students with impaired hearing. Rather, such students are being encouraged to acquire language via modality of sign paired with speech; 65 percent of those who teach hearing-impaired students are using a form of English in sign for instructional purposes (Jordan, Gustavson, and Rosen, 1976), and school curriculum is beginning to focus on learning subject content while mastering English literacy. A positive change in public attitude toward the Deaf is evidenced by the advent of captioned television, "Sesame Street's" employment of a Deaf adult to teach regular sign vocabulary without voice on the daily children's program, and New York's hosting of the award-winning play, *Children of a Lesser God*, which stars a mute Deaf woman in the leading role. Seemingly, the "Hearies," as the Deaf call hearing people, are beginning to respect the minority language (American Sign Language) of the hearing-impaired. A next step is to assess the language or system preference of hearing-impaired students, and allow them to demonstrate their first language. This first language can then be used to teach the English literacy skills still so obviously lacking in these students.

Not a decade ago, educators of hearing bilingual students in the United States were in a similar situation: realizing the value of using, for example, Spanish or a Native American language to learn English. Logically, educators in the field of hearing impairment should examine the bilingual education research concerned with using a first language to teach a second language for applications to the bimodal situations. It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, (1) to review this literature in terms of defining bilingual and bimodal language ability and language acquisition; (2) to review basic concepts of hearing bilingual proficiency assessment as they apply in the field of hearing impairment; and (3) to demonstrate the usefulness of language or system assessment with hearing-impaired students.

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*The convention of capitalization is used to symbolize the Deaf as a cultural minority group.

Defining Bilingualism and Bimodalism

To clarify the bilingual/bimodal distinction in the field of hearing impairment, *bilingualism* refers to the use of two different natural languages (e.g., Swedish Sign Language and American Sign Language), while *bimodalism* refers to two modalities of communication (e.g., an oral, manual, or written mode of language). *System* is used in this paper to distinguish between a natural language and a created mode of expressing a language (e.g., signed English, SEE system).

In a survey of more than two decades of research on bilingualism, García (1977) found at least twelve distinctly different definitions of bilingualism. Although bilingualism can generally be described as the use of two different languages, researchers involved with the study of different languages and dialects disagree as to the extent and measurement of linguistic proficiency required to be so labeled. At the Georgetown Conference on Bilingualism, 1980, scholars reached no consensus on the conceptual components of bilingualism, although most of the conference topics centered on this issue (García, 1980).

In studying bilingualism, researchers first attempted to analyze the nature of the organization and storage of linguistic information. Psycholinguistic research was employed (e.g., word association, free recall, paired-association learning, recognition memory, and reaction time) in an attempt to determine if hearing bilinguals stored their experiences in a shared supralinguistic conceptual (i.e., interlingual) system or whether these were stored in a separate (i.e., intralingual) system. Given the research available to date, no conclusion can be reached as to the validity of either model.

A second approach in analyzing how hearing bilingual linguistic information was organized involved a compound-coordinate distinction, first proposed by Weinreich and developed by Ervin-Tripp (1953). According to the compound-coordinate distinction, bilinguals differ in how they structure and store bilingual information depending upon how the languages were first acquired. The compound bilingual is described as having learned a single set of concepts, each of which has two levels (i.e., one in the first language and one in the second language); the coordinate bilingual is described as having learned his or her second language in a cultural context (e.g., school) markedly different from that in which he or she learned the first language (e.g., home). However, psycholinguistic studies failed to support empirically this compound-coordinate distinction (Gekoski, 1980).

Two other descriptive terms commonly used in the field of bilingual education are balanced and dominant bilingualism. Depending on sociolinguistic factors such as the type of assessment instrument used and the investigator's language background and status, a person tends to use either equal or unequal amounts of the two languages — i.e., is a balanced bilingual or is dominant in one language.

Lindholm (1980) defined "child bilingualism" taking into account the former, more general definitions reviewed above (i.e., interlingual or intralingual storage, compound versus coordinate storage, dominant or balanced production abilities). She stated that a bilingual child has the ability to understand or produce meaningful utterances that contain semantic, syntactic, lexical, and phonemic components in a second language. Lindholm and her colleagues excluded reading and writing from the definition because these abilities were undeveloped in the young subjects studied. Lindholm (1980) further delineated two types of childhood bilingual language acquisition processes: *simultaneous* and *successive*. In simultaneous acquisition, the child is exposed to two languages from birth (e.g., the mother spoke one language and the father, another). Preschool children who acquire a second language are usually considered to be simultaneous bilinguals even if they are exposed to the second language after the first one, because research has indicated that the process of language acquisition in these children does not differ from true simultaneous acquisition even though the two languages are acquired at slightly different times (Ervin-Tripp, 1974). An alternative process, successive acquisition, is defined by Lindholm (1980) as a student's acquisition of one language from birth and a second language later in life (e.g., upon school entry). Since many hearing-impaired students learn a second language (e.g., signed English or sign alone) at school, they seemingly could be labeled successive bilinguals. However, many hearing-impaired children enrolled in preschool programs may qualify as simultaneous bilinguals because of the age at which they acquire a sign language or system, if the Lindholm rationale is applied.

Some possibilities when defining the language abilities of hearing-impaired students are presented in Table 1. These bilingual or bimodal abilities include: (1) monolingual-monomodal, by communicating via manual English only; (2) monolingual-bimodal, by using simultaneous communication; (3) bilingual-monomodal; (4) bilingual-bimodal.

Bilingual and Bimodal Language-System Acquisition

Both the fields of bilingual education and hearing impairment have relatively few studies on which to base a comparison of language acquisition strategies. In a compilation of the results from empirical investigations of infant bilingual language acquisition, Padilla, Romero, and Lindholm (1978) found only forty-seven articles that discussed the topic. Likewise, there are fewer than thirty bilingual and bimodal infant language acquisition studies in the field of hearing impairment.

Table 1

Bilingual/Bimodal Language Possibilities

1. Monolingual
    a. American Sign Language (ASL) only
    b. Oral English only
2. Bimodal
    a. Oral English
       Fingerspelling
    b. Oral English
       Signed English
3. Bilingual
    a. Use of oral languages
    b. Use of two signed languages (i.e., British Sign Language and American Sign Language; ASL and Manual English)
4. Bilingual/Bimodal
    a. American Sign Language followed by oral English
    b. Oral English followed by American Sign Language

Oral bilingual research of language acquisition at the one-word stage has supported the notion of "bilingualism as a first language" (Swain, 1972). The child first acquires one linguistic system with different entries from both languages and later sorts out the languages into two distinct systems. This theory has been supported by preliminary research when sign is acquired in addition to speech (Schlesinger and Meadow, 1972; Wilbur and Jones, 1974; Holmes and Holmes, 1980; Prinz and Prinz, 1980). For example, Leopold (1954, reprinted in Hatch, 1978) completed the classic case study of his daughter's acquisition of English and German in 1954. He identified a combined linguistic system with elements from both languages in Hildegard's earliest utterances and noted that she did not begin to separate the languages into two distinct codes until about three years of age. Leopold gives the following account of this phenomenon:

> At 3;6 she thought that she could make the word *candle* German by pronouncing it (kandl). At 3;8 she used the English verb *to hand* in a German sentence but transposed it into the form (hant); she realized that (ae) was not a German vowel. She added the immediate question, "Ist (hant) right?" . . . She also tried pseudo-German (blak) for English *black*; there were many other instances at the same time. Once she used the German word *stimmen,* "to tune instruments," in English; "They are stimming," but with adapted sounds (st) instead of (ʃt). (In Hatch, 1978, p. 29)

Similarly, Burling (1955, reprinted in Hatch, 1978) studied his son's acquisition of English and Garo, a language of India, and found that he, too, possessed a combined linguistic system which began to separate early in the second year. Burling first commented:

> The only English construction which he could freely use at 2;3 was that with "more" as *mo ci*, more water. Here *ci* is the Garo for water but the construction is quite foreign to Garo and is clearly English. (p. 67)

Later, Burling added:

> By 2;3 he could understand a considerable amount of English; but spoke little. He then showed a facility for translating exactly what was said in English into idiomatic Garo. If I asked him a question in English, he was likely to give an immediate and unhesitating reply in Garo. (p. 70)

In the two studies cited above, the children began to separate the two languages between the second and third years. It is about this same period in development that such bilingual and bimodal children become language specific and begin to use one language or system with one particular person. For example, Schlesinger and Meadow (1972) documented that two hearing children living with their Deaf grandmother constantly signed to their grandmother and spoke to their hearing parents. Similar behavior was reported by Prinz and Prinz (1981). Volterra and Taeschner (1978) found in a longitudinal case study of two young (hearing) sisters that the girls spoke only Italian to their father and German to their mother, beginning at about three years of age. The girls insisted that the parents, likewise, speak only the language the girls had associated with them, as exemplified in this quote:

> The Italian father (F) spoke to Lisa (L) in short, German sentences:
>
> L: "*No, non puoi.*" ("No, you can't.")
>
> F: *Ich auch . . . spreche Deutsch.*" ("I also speak German.")
>
> L: "*No, tu non puoi.*" ("No, you cannot.")

Some of the investigators above kept the adult language input to the child separate by language type. That is, in the Leopold study, the father spoke only German and the mother only English to the child. In the Burling study, the father spoke only Garo and the mother only English to the child. No mention was made in either study as to whether these parents continued to speak their specific language or mixed the two languages when talking to each other in the presence of the child. However, it is yet unknown where language separation is required for children to acquire two distinct languages or systems (L/S).

Lindholm (1980) studied child bilingual language acquisition in three young subjects (aged 1;5 to 2;2 years) and did not find evidence of a single lexical system with entries from both languages. Her subjects were audiotaped each week for six months as they individually interacted with their caretakers, who used both Spanish and English. Using a format for gathering language samples that was similar to that used by Brown (1973) and González (1970), who studied English and Spanish monolinguals, respectively, Lindholm and her colleagues were able to compute mean length of utterance (MLU) in both languages for their bilingual subjects. The results of the study were that (1) the bilinguals acquired linguistic structures at the same rate as both the Spanish and English monolinguals when the MLUs were compared with those obtained by Brown (1973) and González (1970), and (2) as documented by the transcripts, there was no initial stage of confusion in which the subjects could not differentiate their two languages, despite the parent's usage of both languages.

That the Lindholm bilingual subjects did not mix their two languages was consistent with the results of a second cross-sectional study also reported by Lindholm (1980). Language samples of 400 utterances were collected from each of nineteen older children, ranging in age from 2;0 to 6;4. The subjects were selected on the criterion that they heard and used equal amounts of Spanish and English (i.e., they were balanced bilinguals), and that their parents were of Mexican descent. Spanish native speakers collected the Spanish samples and English native speakers collected the English samples. In an analysis of the English and Spanish samples, the bilingual children acquired the fourteen grammatical morphemes identified by Brown (1973) in much the same order as Brown's monolingual children. Further analysis showed that the bilingual children acquired rules and structures in Spanish that were as complex as those in English at the same time as the English structures, but when structures differed in complexity, the children typically acquired the more complicated structure or rule in one language later than the same structure or rule in the other language. Yet there were no cases where the children transferred the structure of one language to the second language (e.g., "She is my sisterita"). In regard to this type of transfer, or "language mixing," the researchers found that when all utterances were totalled, only 319 of 17,864, or 1.7 percent, contained mixed utterances. Lexical mixes (e.g., "*Yo no tengo un* car" — "I have no car") occurred much more frequently than phrasal mixes, and the most common mix involved the insertion of an English noun into a Spanish environment.

While this information may be helpful in future studies involving sign language, where researchers might attempt to delineate sign language from sign system in a particular subject, the findings are consistent with earlier findings that children separate language systems and begin to code-switch at about two years of age (Burling, 1955, cited in Hatch, 1978; Lindholm, 1980; and Prinz and Prinz, 1981).

In assessing the language or system dominance of a hearing-impaired subject, language or system mixing needs to be investigated. Since one language is spoken and one is signed on the hands, conceivably the two languages could be uttered simultaneously. Actually, however, a visual-motor language cannot accurately be signed while an oral language is being spoken because the constraints of the two languages make it impossible to consistently produce them simultaneously. Research has evidenced that when English was signed while it was spoken (i.e., simultaneous communication) both languages were altered and a pidgin was created (Marmor and Petitto, 1979). A pidgin language is a language that mixes elements from two languages so that communication can occur between two groups.

Despite this pidginization process, parents and teachers of hearing-impaired children continue to use pedagogical systems that combine sign and speech. Although, historically, several such systems were invented and utilized, the first system in the United States was developed into Seeing Essential English (SEE 1), from which Linguistics of Visual English (LOVE) (Wampler, 1971, 1972) and Signing Exact English (SEE 2) (Gustavson, Pfetzing, and Zarkolkow, 1972, 1973, 1974) were derived. Manual English was developed at the Washington State School for the Deaf (1972) and used many of the principles of the other systems (Wilbur, 1979). Signed English was developed by Bornstein (1973). The system often is confused with signed English defined as using ASL in English syntactical order (also called Pidgin Signed English; Kannapell, 1980) but is, philosophically, a different sign system. Staff at the National Technological Institute for the Deaf also use the term manually coded English (MCE) to describe sign systems.

In reviewing the language or system acquisition of hearing-impaired children, at least three types of situations must be studied: (1) language acquisition by children whose Deaf parents use American

Table 2

Sign Language and Sign Systems

American Sign Language	English-Sign Mix	Oral English
	–Seeing Essential English –Linguistics of Visual English –Signing Exact English –Manual English –Signed English (Bornstein, 1973) –Signed English (ASL in English word order or pidgin Signed English) –Manually coded English	

Sign Language; (2) system acquisition by children whose parents use an English-sign mix system; and (3) language or system acquisition by Deaf children whose parents do not sign to them but rely only on oral English to communicate.

Bilingual and bimodal language or system acquisition data must be discussed with extreme caution since only a few longitudinal studies have investigated such acquisition (Luetke-Stahlman, 1982a). However, the data allow some tentative trends to be outlined:

1. The American Sign Language development of Deaf children of two Deaf parents (3-5 percent of the Deaf population; Woodward, 1980) parallels the language acquisition of both hearing monolingual and bilingual subjects.
2. While case study research has reported that a particular subject signed a first word before speaking one, wide variation (i.e., seven months) has been in evidence.

A group-design study by Bonvillian, Orlansky, and Novack (1981) cautioned that first sign behavior may be a stimulus-response signal rather than a subject's true manipulation of language, and noted that adults can more easily shape manual signs (i.e., manipulate the child's hands to form the sign). Earlier control of gross hand and arm muscles compared with those in the speech mechanism seems to account for the larger vocabulary of Deaf children of two Deaf parents, as opposed to the other two groups.

Less research is available on the L/S of Deaf children of hearing parents (91.7 percent of all hearing-impaired children; Schein and Delk, 1974). Unlike hearing bilingual children, profoundly Deaf children's first language may not be identical to that of their parents. The author reviewed thirteen studies of such language acquisition and found that the basic communicative skills of the subjects included gesture, home sign or formal sign, and oral words. Most of these children do not have a complete language base in either English or American Sign Language before they begin school. Age of onset of communication and semantic content of communication is significantly delayed when compared with that of Deaf children of two Deaf parents.

Dalgleish and Mohay (1979) studied a child longitudinally whose parents did not sign to her and who had enrolled her in an oral-only school program. As evidence of the bimodal basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) characteristic of the majority of Deaf children, they found that at 26 months of age, she had a spoken vocabulary of twelve words and that idiosyncratic gestures played a major role in the communication she initiated. Goldin-Meadow and Feldman (1975) investigated the language development of five preschool children enrolled in an oral-only program. The children were observed to have no speech or lipreading skills in general activities, and this lack of oral skill development led each to expand gestures into systems of symbolic communication. In a longitudinal evaluation of seven public and residential preschool programs in the United States over a five-year period, Moores, Weiss, and Goodwin (1974) observed gesture as a means of communication by both teachers and students in oral-only classrooms. Similar findings have been documented by Greenberg (1980) and Tervoort (1961). As adults, most Deaf children of hearing parents elect membership into the Deaf community. Those who do not, the oral Deaf, are defined as those adults who do not associate with other Deaf adults using American Sign Language. Other than those discussed above, few language acquisition studies or semantic content studies have been completed on such subjects. Using the hearing-impaired population of Omaha, Nebraska as an example, it was reported that while about 26 of 40, or 65 percent, of children under six years of age are educated without exposure to sign, only 4 of 15, or 27 percent, of the high school students complete their education without such formal exposure (Gaugan, 1981). Oral Deaf are in the minority as adults. Yet, the benefit of using American Sign Language in the classroom to teach English literacy skills goes unstudied.

Adapting Hearing Bilingual Proficiency Assessment

When a hearing child from a hearing bilingual home enters school, he or she is placed in a classroom in which monolingual or bilingual instruction is used. In the case of a Mexican American student, the placement would be based on the child's age, language proficiency in English or Spanish, and parent preference. Tests of language proficiency would be administered to such students and, generally, English-dominant students would be placed in English-only classrooms, and bilingual and minority-language-dominant children could be placed in classrooms where both Spanish and English were used for instruction. Many bilingual classrooms use a transitional model, whereby students are educated through their first language (e.g., Spanish) in the initial grades and are later transferred to English-only instruction. The goal of education in both English-only and transitional classroom placement is to facilitate the students' development of cognitive and academic skills.

The goal of those educating hearing-impaired students parallels that of those educating hearing bilingual students: that the student obtain English literacy skills that will lead to full participation in the majority culture. When a young, hearing-impaired child enters school, a classroom placement is not made based on the results of language assessment, however. Language proficiency in oral English might be assessed and used either to place a child with intelligible speech in an oral-only English classroom or to suggest to the parents of an older, nonorally proficient child that signed instruction appears necessary since the child is so below grade level. Rarely is oral-only, simultaneous communication (vowel, sign, gesture, etc.), finger-spelled-only communication, or sign-alone communication assessed. Traditionally, placement is made on the basis of the child's age and the parental preference in terms of use or nonuse of signs in the instructional school program. Classrooms set up on the basis of language system dominance do not exist.

That the minority status of most hearing-impaired students should be considered when determining classroom placements (e.g., English-only or transition classes) is advocated in Cummins's (1980) explanation of his language proficiency model. An examination of research compiled on minority groups (e.g., Finns in Sweden, North American Indians, Spanish speakers in the United States, or Franco Ontarians in Canada) that have tended to do poorly in dominant language classroom situations suggests that the attitude of these groups and the importance of their cultural identity, as well as the language used for instruction, may influence their academic achievement (Cummins, 1980). Negative feelings of parents in these groups toward the majority culture and, often, toward their own culture as well, have affected their children's performance in school. These attitudes have also been documented in the Deaf culture (Jacobs, 1969; Moores, 1978).

Just as hearing bilingual groups have felt hostility toward the majority culture and insecurity about their own language, Deaf adults have condemned the hearing society for forcing them to use speech and yet may hesitate to teach their children to sign (Moores, 1978). Likewise, hearing-impaired students have not performed well in English literacy tasks at school (Moores, 1978; Wilbur, 1979). Teachers of both hearing and hearing-impaired minority language groups may have also contributed to the pattern of poor performance by either having low expectations of a child's ability to learn to maintain a first language, or by being insensitive to the child's bicultural background. Many hearing-impaired children enter school with low academic abilities in either oral or signed English, or sign alone, and may be confused as to their cultural identity. Hearing-impaired children of hearing parents may never have seen, for example, a professional Deaf worker, American Sign Language, or Deaf club.

Because both hearing and hearing-impaired minority language students may perceive negative attitudes about both language and culture via their parents, their home environment may affect school performance in another way. Since parents may be ashamed of their home language and culture they may not encourage their children to develop a strong first language base. Hearing parents of hearing-impaired children may refuse to accept sign as necessary for language development in their children and may ignore the possibility of their eventual membership in the Deaf culture. Or parents may use sign but not consistently to code their speech — thus providing their deaf children with an incomplete language model. Such language input may be further jeopardized by the deaf child's inability to speechread spoken language. Thus, these children may not develop concepts and thinking skills in a first language.

Accordingly, if negative parental attitudes affect the school performance of minority language children, it seems logical that successful minority hearing or hearing-impaired school programs should foster pride in both home (or Deaf) language or system, and culture. That only linguistic factors contribute to a student's success in education is a false assumption, as exemplified by the success of many ethnic bilingual programs. Ethnic bilingual or bimodal programs often use both minority language and culture.

A classic example of minority language students learning a second language effectively via first language is the Rock Point Navajo School program. At least 90 percent of the students entering this Arizona program are either monolingual Navajo or Navajo dominant. Depending on the grade level, they receive from 25 to 70 percent less English instruction than they did in 1970 when all instruction was in English (i.e., an immersion program). However, the students perform better (e.g., two grade levels higher on reading tests by sixth grade) than their peers elsewhere on the reservation who have been taught via immersion models (Vorih and Rosier, 1978). Rock Point students are instructed by Navajo teachers and are not introduced to English reading until they read well in Navajo. Thus, they establish sound first language academic and cognitive skills before learning similar skills in a second language.

Cazden and Erickson (1980) found that in several innovative programs in Illinois, Ontario, Hawaii, and Alaska, the reward for "cultural congruence," the fusing of the elements from both cultures involved and instruction via ethnic adults in the classroom, was "exceptionally high rates of college entrance and success from bilingual students" (p. 13). Troike (1978) reviewed findings on English skills and found that minority language students from ethnic bilingual programs performed as well as or better than students in English-only programs.

The success of a French immersion program for majority language hearing children has been documented by Cummins (1979) and Swain (1978). Evaluations showed that majority language children instructed mainly through French suffered no adverse academic or cognitive consequences and acquired age-appropriate English literacy skills shortly after English language arts programs were initiated. Successful transfer of reading skills, for example, from French to English, was shown to occur rapidly (Genesee, 1979; Lambert and Tucker, 1972). When this finding is applied to instruction for hearing-impaired students, it suggests that sign alone should be provided to all hearing-impaired students and would cause no negative effect in learning either basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) or cognitive-academic language proficiency (CALP). Further, ethnic programs (i.e., minority language via minority adult instruction) were shown to be the most successful hearing bilingual programs, and sign-alone instruction via Deaf adults seems warranted for hearing-impaired students.

These statements are in part supported by research collated by Moores (1971). He reviewed studies comparing the academic abilities of children who signed with those who did not, and found that the sign group was equal or superior in ability to the nonsign group in each case, with no difference in speech or speechreading skills. Brasal and Quigley (1977) and Moores, Weiss, and Goodwin (1974) also found that sign use enhanced the academic abilities of hearing-impaired children.

Obtaining Valid Language Samples

Since minority language status and measurement of language proficiency are presently among the guidelines for bilingual classroom placement, literature in this area that could be consulted to place hearing-impaired students is reviewed below. The organization of this material is categorized according to the three basic concerns of such testing as outlined by Hernández-Chávez (1978): obtaining valid samples of language behavior, distinguishing between competence and performance, and considering language variation. Rationale for classroom placement based on the Cummins model is also discussed.

Hernández-Chávez's first category of concern in measuring language proficiency is that of obtaining valid language samples. To obtain a valid sample of bilingual basic communication skills, a researcher should collect a substantial number of utterances via audio or audiovisual tape, transcribe them into a language common to the audience of readers, use researchers outside the present research interest to verify that the transcription code or gloss presents an accurate account of the recording, analyze the sample in terms of the focus of interest, and discuss the conclusions of the study in terms of past research and novel findings. The state of the art of this procedure in oral, oral-manual, manual bilingual, and bimodal study is reflected in the fact that the majority of studies in both the fields of bilingual education and hearing impairment are flawed by poor methodological design in terms of language samples. As an indication of the extent of the problem, Troike (1978) notes that when the Center for Applied Linguistics surveyed over 150 evaluation reports on bilingual education, they found only seven that met minimal criteria for methodological acceptability. Studies in the field of hearing impairment are subject to many of the same criticisms. Traditionally these studies have not reported sufficient information in regard to parent language background and use, language sampling size, the choice or conventions of the transcription code verification procedure, and interjudge reliability scores.

To obtain a valid sample of bilingual cognitive-academic proficiency, a researcher should use a theoretical model and design a test that will measure a student's competence in a given language or languages for a specific purpose (e.g., classroom placement). Cummins (1980) found that an examination of the many tests of language proficiency and dominance currently available for assessing hearing bilingual students revealed an enormous variation in what these tests proposed to measure. However, Cummins also states that the variation was not surprising given the fact that the complexity of language necessitates choosing which aspects of language to include in a test that can be administered in a reasonable amount of time. This variation is further complicated when students function bimodally and assessment tools are almost nonexistent. In deciding what aspect of language to measure and how to measure it, Hernández-Chávez (1978) suggested that a distinction between competence and performance is necessary, and Cummins delineates two categories of performance skills.

Distinguishing between Competence and Performance

An axiom of linguistic theory is that the underlying "competence" of language proficiency cannot be directly measured, but can only be inferred through a subject's performance (Chomsky, 1965). That is, the internalized set of linguistic rules that a person acquires interact in actual use not only with sociolinguistic constraints and rules of communicative appropriateness, but also with attitudinal factors (e.g., negative attitudes about the language being used, the examination situation, or cultural values) and individual factors (e.g., motivation and memory). Depending upon the language dimension to be measured, the tester must sort out all these various factors that can affect performance in order to approximate the actual competence abilities of subjects more closely (Hernández-Chávez, 1978). When controlling for these factors in assessing the language proficiency of a Deaf student, Deaf adults should be involved; signed, fingerspelled, and oral modalities should be used; and attitudes and individual factors should be considered.

Cummins (1979) argues that the link between language proficiency testing and classroom placements in hearing bilingual education has been traditionally based on assumptions that fail to conceptualize adequately the construct of language proficiency. He agrees with Oller's (1978, 1979) position that, on the basis of empirical evidence, there exists a global language proficiency factor strongly related to intelligence, range of vocabulary, knowledge of complex syntax, reading comprehension, and other cognitive and academic skills. Cummins labels this linguistic competence "cognitive-academic language proficiency" or CALP (Cummins, 1979, p. 198).

But Cummins also notes that, clearly, not all aspects of language proficiency are related to CALP. Genesee (1976), for example, tested English-speaking students in grades 4, 7, and 11 in French immersion programs in Montreal, using a battery of French-language tests. He reports that although intelligence was strongly related to the development of academic French-language skills, it was, with the exception of pronunciation at the fourth-grade level, unrelated to ratings of oral production skills at any grade level. Listening comprehension was significantly related to intelligence only at the seventh-grade level (Genesee, 1976). That speech and listening comprehension are not strongly related to literacy is also evidenced by many Deaf adults who have unintelligible speech and cannot hear spoken English but read and write proficiently (Kensicki, 1980).

Cummins (1979) labels skills such as speaking and hearing "basic interpersonal communicative skills" (BICS) and stated that they were defined only in a residual sense as those aspects of communicative proficiency which could be empirically distinguished from CALP. He further claims that BICS were acquired by all but the severely retarded and autistic in a first language, regardless of intelligence or academic aptitude (1979, p. 198). The BICS of hearing-impaired children could include gesture, formal and informal sign or system, fingerspelling, and oral language since BICS are the surface features of language, necessary to function in everyday interpersonal situations.

Although BICS are distinguished from CALP in the Cummins model, it is important to realize that CALP is not inferred to be independent of interpersonal communication. On the contrary, Wells (1979) found that the quality of communication between adults and children, both at home and at school, is a primary determinant of CALP development. This interpersonal communication development may be hampered in home and classroom interactions between parents or teachers and hearing-impaired students because of the inability of these significant adults to sign accurately and consistently, and the inability of students to speak intelligible English. This mismatch of communicative ability can result in communication failure and can hinder the development of CALP skills (as well as their assessment) in hearing-impaired students.

According to the Cummins model, it is not the BICS, but the CALP developed in the child's first language that can be used to predict the CALP in the second language. That is, despite obvious differences between the first and second languages in terms of surface features, like phonology and syntax, there is a common, underlying proficiency that determines an individual's performance on cognitive-academic tasks in both the first and second language. It is important that this underlying ability for cognitive-academic tasks (CALP) be developed and serve as a language base on which second language cognitive-academic skills can be developed.

Unfortunately, the assessment of first language CALP to predict second language CALP has been traditionally ignored in policy decisions regarding school placement for both hearing bilingual and hearing-impaired students. Instead, student placement has been based on "natural communication" (BICS) tasks if it is assessed at all. If first language CALP should be assessed to predict second language CALP, then a further assumption in the assessment of language proficiency of hearing-impaired students is that their "first language" is not completely English. This assumption is not without empirical support.

In a study of older (mean age = 17;9 years) hearing-impaired students, Charrow and Fletcher (1973) found that the test results of these students significantly correlated with the scores obtained from hearing foreign students learning English as a second language. Scores were based on four subtests of a test of English as a foreign language.

The feasibility of using first language CALP to predict second language (i.e., English) CALP in hearing-impaired populations was evidenced by a study conducted at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID). This study used a questionnaire based on variables that Woodward (1973a) found correlated to proficiency in adult users of ASL (Hatfield, Caccamise, and Siple, 1978). The questionnaire was administered to NTID college students in conjunction with a receptive comprehension test of ASL and a similar test of manually coded English (MCE). Results support the validity of Woodward's variables: students who scored highest on the questionnaire also scored highest on the ASL test. With respect to Cummins's work, it is interesting to note that those students who scored highest on the ASL test also scored highest on the MCE test. This performance supports the hypothesis that high first language CALP can predict high second language CALP.

In summary, the Cummins (1979, 1980) model for assessing language proficiency breaks such proficiency into two independent components, CALP and BICS. Further, first language CALP should be assessed to predict second language CALP abilities. If the goal of language proficiency assessment is English literacy development, it seems necessary to suppose that since English is probably not the first language of hearing-impaired students, a complete CALP language base needs to be developed on which to build English literacy (CALP) skills. If a hearing-impaired child is allowed to demonstrate which language or system (L/S) is the most beneficial in acquiring cognitive-academic skills, then classroom placements should be based on these findings. For example, sign-dominant children should be provided sign-dominant ethnic instruction, and system-dominant children should be provided with an accurate, consistently signed English language model.

Considering Language Variation in Assessing Language Proficiency

Given that Hernández-Chávez (1978) lists language variation as a third concern when assessing language proficiency, and given that the composition of BICS and CALP in hearing-impaired students may include more than one language or system of communication, assessing the variation of L/S possibly used by these students is necessary. That is, since the composition of first language CALP in hearing-impaired students may include oral English, English paired with sign, fingerspelling or sign alone, it is important to assess a child's facility with each of these languages or systems in learning CALP tasks. Tasks for hearing-impaired subjects should be designed to assess composition or ability in the L/S that is acting as a first language for the student.

Assessment should be conducted with consideration for individual student needs and should, therefore, use a single-subject design. A single-subject design is not a case study design. If a receptive L/S sample is collected, for example, the student should be asked questions in all possible L/S with both Deaf and hearing language models so that the first language preference can be demonstrated. Interpersonal communication may be enhanced if training sessions are kept short, testing situations are of a relaxed nature, the investigator demonstrates skill in using the required languages or systems, and reinforcers are frequently varied. Assessment sessions should be videotaped so that visual-motor features of the student's expressive language can be studied, and Deaf consultants should be included in the final analysis of the assessment.

An Example of Language or System Assessment

The language or system (L/S) preference of three Hispanic hearing-impaired preschool girls was assessed by Luetke-Stahlman (1982b). Three CALP tasks were constructed which required subjects to demonstrate receptive ability. Each subject was presented with a noun vocabulary task in which twenty stimulus items were randomly divided into five languages or systems. That is, the subject was asked to respond to questions asked in oral English only, English/sign mix, oral Spanish only, Spanish/sign mix, and sign alone. Fingerspelled or written instructions were not used because of the young age of the subjects. A probe condition consisting of ten items was also included in the study. Two items were asked via each L/S, but correct or incorrect responses were never acknowledged.

After baseline and several training sessions, the subject reached criterion in one L/S and training stopped. This first L/S was predicted to be that which the subject preferred as a "first language" for cognitive and academic instruction. According to the Cummins model (1979, 1980) it would be used by the classroom teacher to teach English literacy skills.

Two additional tasks, a verb vocabulary and an adjective vocabulary task, were similarly presented. Results from these tasks were helpful in documenting the consistency of the first language choice.

Subject A consistently demonstrated sign alone as her first language. The profound nature of her hearing loss prevented her from successfully using oral English or Spanish.

Subject B had a moderate loss and Spanish-dominant parents. She demonstrated sign mix to be the most beneficial L/S. Subject C performed similarly. Results for these two subjects were inconsistent, however, and other L/S were also somewhat successful. Further assessment would be recommended which included use of bilingual bicultural adults and cognitive-academic tasks.

Classroom placement for these three subjects would not be identical based on the Cummins model, however. Subject A should seemingly be placed with a Deaf adult who uses American Sign Language to teach English. Speech instruction and exposure to signed English, if not the major mode of presentation, should not harm her acquisition of English skills. Subjects B and C may require placement with a Hispanic adult who is proficient in Spanish, English, and a consistent sign system. Speech instruction and exposure to sign language, if not the major mode of presentation, should not harm their acquisition of English skills, according to the Cummins model.

Conclusion

When bilingual and bimodal language ability is defined and language acquisition studies reviewed, commonality of research in the fields of hearing impairment and bilingual education can be demonstrated. Additional synthesis and support for models of behavior based on the manipulation of one or more languages or systems await further research. The Cummins model, however, provides an example of possible applications to benefit educators of hearing-impaired students. Results and implications from an actual assessment of hearing-impaired students using the Cummins model provide an empirically based rationale for classroom placement for Hispanic Deaf preschoolers. Further research is needed to evidence the usefulness of assessing CALP skills in hearing-impaired students to achieve English literacy proficiency, and the effectiveness of hearing-impaired classroom placement based on language or system preference.

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CHAPTER 4

The Acquisition of Spanish Sounds in the Speech of Two-year-old Chicano Children

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Introduction

Over the past fifteen years, there has been much research conducted on the acquisition of a first language. For the most part, these studies have focused on the acquisition of syntax, semantics, transformations, and the like (for a comprehensive review, see Dale, 1976). Psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, and lately, ethnographic research have contributed to our understanding of how children come to master their first language—largely without formal instruction—by the time they enter grade school.

The state of knowledge on the acquisition of other languages is not nearly as developed as it is for English. The study of Spanish language acquisition is a case in point. In spite of the large number of persons of Spanish origin living in the United States (14 million according to early 1980 Census reports), interest in the language development of this segment of the population is lacking; this is reflected in the disappointingly small number of studies that have addressed the area of Spanish-language acquisition.

The early studies focused on the acquisition of Spanish grammar. González (1970, 1978) gathered oral data on Spanish-speaking Chicano children between the ages of two and five. His analysis presented not only the sequence of acquisition of syntactic patterns but verb tenses and transformations as well. Brisk (1972), using González as a point of comparison, analyzed the speech of New Mexican five-year-old children. Her subjects were not as well developed linguistically as the González children, though there were some similarities. Gili Gaya (1972) used teacher-gathered vocabulary data in his statistical study of Puerto Rican children's speech. His subjects were fifty children between the ages of 4;0 and 7;0 and provided important data from another Hispanic group. In separate publications, González has also explored the acquisition of questions (1974), transformations (1978), and tenses and temporal expressions (1980).

Fewer still are works that address the acquisition of sounds. An early work by González (1968) described the "errors" in phonology produced by first grade Spanish-speaking Chicanos. Among the processes he found operating were (1) consonant cluster reduction; (2) epenthesis (the addition of a sound); (3) consonant, vowel, or syllable deletion; (4) vowel change; (5) consonant change; and (6) metathesis (transposition of the order of sounds within the word). In a different type of study involving Spanish-speaking children between 1;7 and 3;10, Macken and Barton (1979) found that the allophonic distribution rule is not learned until after age two and "...even at age 4 children have not mastered the presumed adult distribution pattern" (p. 23). Maez, in his 1981 study of three Spanish-speaking children between eighteen and twenty-four months of age, found that in the great majority of cases the children were able to produce the appropriate sound in obligatory contexts. Sounds not reaching a 100 percent criterion level at age twenty-four months included [d, s, ɑ̮, n, l, r, r̄]. The trill [r̄] had the lowest level of correct production in his study.

The Study

The present study examines the Spanish speech production of four Chicano children (two male, two female) at two years of age. The recordings were made in the South Texas children's homes, often with the mother and siblings present. Each child was recorded for a total of approximately two hours. The tapes were phonetically transcribed and "correct" and "incorrect" renditions were noted ("correct" defined as duplicating the adult model). "Incorrect" productions were further analyzed to identify the strategies used by the children in their attempts to produce the adult model of the word. The data consist primarily of one-word utterances, reflecting the children's overall level of linguistic development.

The framework used for tracing sound acquisition is that proposed by Jakobson (1941, 1968) and modified for use with Spanish. The proposed sequence of acquisitions is as follows:

1. Vowel-consonant (/a/ versus /p/) contrasts are possibly the first to be acquired.
2. Stop-continuants (a continuant can be a nasal /m/ or a fricative /f/) appear to be among the earliest acquired by children.
3. Stops precede fricatives in initial position.
4. If two consonants are alike in manner of articulation, one will be labial and the other dental or alveolar (/p/ versus /d/).
5. Contrasts in place of articulation usually precede voicing contrasts.
6. Affricates (the "ch" in *chango*) and liquids (the "l" in *largo*) appear later than stops and nasals.
7. The /l/ precedes the trilled /r̄/.
8. A contrast between low and high vowels (/a/ versus /i/) precedes a front versus back contrast (/i/ versus /u/).
9. Consonant clusters (such as the "tr" in *tren*) are acquired late.
10. Consonant contrasts usually appear to be made earlier in initial positions rather than in medial or final positions.

The data that were analyzed, although synchronic in nature, can provide important indicators regarding the sequence of sound acquisition. Sounds produced correctly by all children can be identified as being among the first to be acquired; those produced consistently incorrectly can be considered to be late acquisitions. Between these two extremes are sounds or sets of sounds that are on the way to being acquired; they represent sounds in transition. Both the late acquisitions and the sounds in transition were analyzed to determine what substitutions were being made for appropriate sounds and how this compared with the sequence proposed by Jakobson. Substitutions of stops for fricatives, for example, would indicate that stops are acquired before fricatives, while the reverse would prove the opposite, i.e., that fricatives are acquired before stops.

There was wide variation in the number of utterances produced by the children, ranging from a low of 327 to a high of 647. No attempt was made to determine what percentage of utterances were produced correctly. There were two reasons for this: (1) Given the number of repetitions inevitably involved in children's utterances, raw figures or percentages drawn from those figures would be misleading as an index of language development; and (2) since an "incorrect utterance count" does not specify the source of deviation, it provides no information on what sounds within the utterance have been acquired and which have not. Instead of comparing correct with incorrect renditions, an attempt is made to examine in detail the nature of the deviations in order to obtain a picture of what has already developed, what has not, and what is in the process of developing.

Jakobson's first principle referred to distinctions between vowels and consonants. Since most (if not all) utterances contained at least one consonant and vowel, the distinction between vowels and consonants appears to have been present from the outset. Establishing the time of mastery over these basic forms will require collection and analysis of data from children younger than those who served as our subjects. The evidence suggests that the consonant-vowel distinction is the first to be acquired.

Also among the earliest to be acquired, according to Jakobson, is the stop-continuant distinction, in which the definition for continuant includes nasals or fricatives. If such is the case, we would expect stops (such as p, t, k) to substitute for continuants if the distinction has not yet been mastered. Our data show that this was indeed the case, as seen in the following examples:

	Substitution	**English meaning**
1.	[d̪íke] for [n̪íkle]	nickel
2.	[ad̪ígo] for [aƀan̪íko]	fan
3.	[payt̪án̪a] for [man̪sán̪a]	apple
4.	[balán̪o] for [mařán̪o]	pig
5.	[kamáka] for [kampán̪a]	bell

The examples represent all occurrences of the substitution of stops for nasal continuants, clearly indicating that the stop-nasal continuant distinction is all but mastered. In fact, the last example [kamáka] can be said to result from reduplication of the word-initial consonant and not from confusion between nasal and stop. It is worth noting that in all other cases, the sound substituted for the nasal was identified in place of articulation to the sound it replaced: [d̪] and [n̪] are apicodental, [p], [b], and [m] are bilabial.

Less firmly established is the stop-fricative distinction, a classic example of a sound in transition. While the children in some instances did produce fricatives correctly, in other instances they did not, as the following examples show:

	Substitution	**English meaning**
1.	[kát̪a] for [kása]	house
2.	[kíto] for [síŋko]	five
3.	[t̪án̪o] for [gusán̪o]	worm
4.	[t̪i] for [si]	yes
5.	[péka] for [péɡa]	hits
6.	[kapáyo] for [kaƀáyo]	horse
7.	[óko] for [óho]	eye
8.	[káka] for [káha]	box
9.	[kapé] for [kafé]	coffee
10.	[t̪e] for [se]	I know
11.	[ót̪o] for [óso]	bear

Examples 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, and 11 show that the stops substituted for the fricatives have a similar point of articulation: [t̪] and [s] are front consonants articulated in the dental-alveolar area; [k] and [ɡ] are dorsovelar; and [p] and [b] are bilabial. Even for examples 7, 8, and 9, front consonants are substituted for front consonants, back consonants for back: dorsovelar [k] for glottal [h], bilabial [p] for labiodental [f]. The pattern followed earlier involving substitutions with consonants having the same point of articulation appears to be in evidence here as well. The stop-fricative substitutions occur in initial as well as medial position.

Another observation regarding the type of substitutions has to do with what Ingram (1974) called "fronting." According to this process, in a word containing two different consonants separated by a vowel (C_1 V C_2), the second consonant must be articulated either at the same point of articulation or a more posterior one. Examples 2 and 9 present evidence to the contrary, since both the dental [t̪] in [kít̪o] and the bilabial [p] in [kapé] are articulated further forward than the [k]. Of course, the Spanish examples alluded to here are of the type

$C_1V_1C_2V_2$, and not C_1VC_2, but this would seem to have little bearing on types of consonantal substitutions that are predicted to occur. Only through two-syllable sequences $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ can the different types of consonant sequences found in English C_1VC_2 sequences be realized in Spanish. This is because some of the most interesting word-final consonants [p, t, k] are not allowed to occur word finally in Spanish. Given this state of affairs, it seemed reasonable to apply the fronting principle to the $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ examples. The results suggest that fronting does not always occur, at least not in our sample of words with $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ structure.

A major source of deviations aside from the stop fricative substitutions mentioned earlier, was the substitution of one consonant for another. Jakobson predicted that contrasts in place of articulation (e.g., labials versus velars) would precede voicing contrasts (e.g., [p] versus [b]). If this is the case, our corpus should show more substitutions in voicing than in place of articulation. The data indicate just the opposite. Almost twice as many types of substitutions (sixty-two to thirty-six) were noted in place of articulation as in voicing. This suggests that voicing contrasts are more easily acquired than contrasts in place of articulation and contradicts Jakobson's predictions. Examples of substitution types from the corpus included:

Voicing

Substitution	English meaning
1. [m] for [p] : [mén̪e] for [péyn̪e]	comb
2. [b] for [p] : [bolót̪a] for [pelót̪a]	ball
3. [k] for [g] : [péka] for [péga]	hits
4. [d̪] for [t̪] : [send̪ád] for [sen̪t̪áđa]	sitting
5. [ƀ] for [f] : [kaƀé] for [kafé]	coffee

Place of Articulation

Substitution	English meaning
6. [p] for [k] : [páka] for [káha]	box
7. [ƀ] for [g] : [ƀát̪o] for [gát̪o]	cat
8. [k] for [s] : [péko] for [péso]	peso
9. [t̪] for [p] : [t̪olót̪a] for [pist̪óla]	gun
10. [p] for [ř] : [patón] for [řatón]	mouse

Many consonants in addition to the above were involved in substitutions. There seemed to be no constraints on what consonant could substitute for what others. Thus dental nasals were substituted for laterals, semiconsonant [y] was substituted for the glottal fricative [h], a dorsovelar nasal was substituted for a bilateral nasal, and so on. The consonants most prone to substitution were the trill [ř] and the lateral [l]. For the trill, the following consonants were substituted:

1. the lateral: [pélo] for [péřo] dog; [kálo] for [kařo] car
2. the bilabial semiconsonant: [wompér] for [řomper] to tear; [péwo] for [péřo] dog
3. the tap: [péro] for [péřo] dog
4. voiced dental stop: [d̪ebéka] for [řeƀeka] Rebecca; [péd̪o] for [péřo] dog
5. nasal: [n̪ámo] for [mařán̪o] pig
6. voiceless dental stop: [pét̪o] for [péřo] dog; [pit̪ít̪os] for [peřít̪os] little dogs

Substitution types for the lateral were almost as numerous and included the following:

1. semiconsonant [y]: [t̪éya] for [est̪éla] Estela
2. semiconsonant [w]: [wápi] for [lápis] pencil
3. voiceless dental stop [t̪]: [t̪éče] for [léče] milk; [čakat̪át̪e] for [čokolát̪e] chocolate
4. dental nasal [n̪]: [mán̪o] for [málo] bad; [n̪ún̪a] for [lún̪a] moon
5. voiced dental stop [d̪]: [d̪ód̪a] for [d̪ólar] dollar; [d̪ót̪e] for [elót̪e] corn

At age two, the lateral [l] and the trill [ř] are still in a state of flux, as evidenced by the number of consonant types substituted for them. Of the two, the [l] appears to be closer to being mastered, since it occurs as a substitute only for the trill [ř]. González (1968) reports that the trill [ř] was the object of substitution by the tap [r] among first graders. Our data thus agree with Jakobson's seventh assertion that the lateral precedes the trilled [ř].

The evidence concerning affricates and their establishment subsequent to stops and nasals is not as conclusive. If affricates are mastered after stops and nasals, it would be reasonable to expect stops and nasals to substitute for the affricates until such time as the distinction between affricates, stops, and nasals is mastered. The expected substitutions were observed, as in the following entries:

1. velar [k] for [č]: [kíkle] for [číkle] gum
2. dental [t] for [č]: [t̪íke] for [číkle] gum; [t̪ačíta] for [čacíta] little girl
3. dental [d̪] for [č]: [d̪agít̪o] for [čaygít̪o] little monkey

The affricate, however, also replaced a dental stop in the word [t̪ása] cup, which was rendered as [čása] and [čát̪a], and in the word [kalset̪ín̪es] socks, which was produced as [kat̪ečíne].

Finally, the affricate replaced the fricative [s] in the following entries:

4. [či] for [si]
5. [čápo] for [sápo]
6. [kačón̪] for [kalsón̪]
   (following a consonant cluster reduction [ls]→[s])

The pattern of substitutions seems to suggest that the affricate is somewhere between the stop and the fricative in the sequence of acquisition: the affricate is replaced by stops and is itself used in place of a fricative. This conclusion does not account for the use of the affricate in [čása] or [čát̪a], however. One possibility is that, having already mastered stops as a group, the children are experimenting with the less well-established affricate, using it as a substitute for both stops and the late-developing fricative. Further data are needed before any sort of conclusion can be reached.

A common strategy in the children's handling of single consonants was the deletion of some of them. The following were noted:

1a. laterals: [éče] for [léče] milk
1b. [éo] for [yélo] ice
2a. fricatives: [d̪éo] for [d̪édo] finger
2b. [aón̪] for [haƀón̪] soap
2c. [úko] for [húgo] juice
3a. sibilants: [lápi] for [lápis] pencil
3b. [apát̪os], [sapát̪o] for [sapátos] shoes
3c. [akát̪e] for [sakát̪e] grass
4a. stops: [ét̪a] for [pwér̄t̪a] door
4b. [ía] for [san̪d̪ía] watermelon
5. trills: [péo] for [pér̄o] dog; also for [pélo] hair
6. nasals: [péye] for [péyne] comb

The examples include deletions at the word-initial position (1a, 2b, 2c, 3b, and 3c), word-medial position (2a, 2b, 5, and 6), and word final position (3a, 3b). Consonants that are late in developing, such as the lateral and the trill, are common omissions, as are fricatives (example 2a). Since all entries involve words of two syllables, it may be that the children were focusing their attention on preserving the disyllabic identity for the words, sacrificing the articulation of the consonants in the process. Monosyllabic words appear to delete the final consonant only when this consonant is [s], as in [ma] for [mas] more.

Syllable deletion was also in evidence in our data. This occurred almost exclusively with three- and four-syllable words:

Substitution	English meaning
1. [čúwa] for [lečúga]	lettuce
2. [t̪án̪o] for [gusán̪o]	worm
3. [t̪ín̪o] for [međisín̪a]	medicine
4. [kít̪a] for [muñekít̪a]	doll

The unstressed syllable in each case was the one that was deleted. The children appeared to maintain the stressed syllable and that following when the word was accompanied by penultimate stress. When the stress fell on the antepenultimate syllable, the stressed syllable and the last syllable were maintained, as in [pát̪o] for [plát̪an̪o] banana. Partly because the Spanish language makes greater use of words with penultimate stress, and partly because of corpus limitations, the sample of words available was too small to allow adequate comparisons. Consonant clusters, sequences of two consonants without an intervening vowel, proved to be problematic for the children, as suggested by Jakobson. The present data coupled with our earlier work (González, 1968) provide convincing evidence that consonant clusters are the last to be acquired. In the present study, the children consistently reduced the cluster to a single consonant, as in the following examples:

Substitution	English meaning
1. [n̪íke] for [níkle]	nickel
2. [óka] for [óskar]	Oscar
3. [t̪óke] for [t̪róke]	truck
4. [kán̪e] for [kárn̪e]	meat
5. [ét̪e] for [ést̪e]	this
6. [čáte] for [sálte]	get out
7. [ót̪o] for [ót̪ro]	another
8. [pót̪a] for [pwér̄t̪a]	door
9. [pón̪t̪o] for [prón̪t̪o]	quickly

As can be seen in the examples, the reductions appear in word-initial (3, 9) and word-medial position (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8). Spanish phonotactic rules do not allow consonant clusters in syllable-final position. Members eliminated from the cluster include laterals, taps, trills, and the sibilant [s]. The stop consonants were the only consistent survivors when clusters were reduced. The only clusters that are pronounced correctly, and then only part of the time, are those involving a nasal plus a stop consonant: [mp, mb, n̪t̪, n̪d̪, ŋk, ŋg]. When clusters were reduced, the stops and not the nasals remain:

Substitution	**Reduction**	**English meaning**
1. [d̪agit̪o] for [čaŋgit̪o]:	[ŋg] → [g]	monkey
2. [wópe] for [řompéř]:	[mp] → [p]	to tear
3. [bet̪án̪a] for [ben̪t̪án̪a]:	[n̪t̪] → [t̪]	window

This raises the possibility that the nasal-and-stop consonant cluster is the first type to be mastered by children acquiring Spanish as a first language.

Jakobson's statement regarding the earlier appearance of consonant contrasts in initial rather than medial or final position deserves some comment. For Spanish, there is the inherent limitation that not all consonants can occur in final position. Whether this fact has any effect on order of consonant acquisition remains to be investigated. The present data do not appear to support Jakobson's belief that position influences order of acquisition, since substitutions for consonants occur equally frequently at the different positions. The trill [ř] and the lateral [l] are late acquisitions regardless of the position in which they occur.

The Vocalic System

Our data agree with the Maez (1981) data that by twenty-four months of age, children are articulating the vowels in the system correctly most of the time (Maez reports between 90 and 100 percent). This makes it impossible to determine whether Jakobson's prediction regarding the acquisition sequence of vocalic contrasts is accurate. It is possible, however, to identify processes involved in creating the few deviations in the data. The major type of vocalic modification is through vowel harmony. The examples that follow show the vowel in the pretonic syllable being changed to the vowel found in the tonic syllable:

Substitution	**English meaning**
1. [pelót̪a] becomes [polót̪a]	ball
2. [kafé] becomes [kefé]	coffee
3. [řat̪ón̪] becomes [kot̪ón̪]	mouse
4. [čokolát̪e] becomes [cakat̪át̪e]	chocolate

In a couple of instances, the change involves converting the low central vowel [a] to a high vowel to "harmonize" with the other high vowel:

5. [lápis] becomes [úpis]	pencil
6. [asúl] becomes [išul]	blue

Despite not having the stress on the second syllable, example 5 nonetheless proceeded with the change of [a] to [u]. This brought the two vowels into harmony, since they were both high vowels.

Sequence of Sound Acquisitions: A Comparison

In order to verify the findings described above, I decided to compare them with a sample of speech from twin boys twenty-two and a half months of age. The boys are my sons; my wife and I speak to them only in Spanish. Their three-and-a-half-year-old sister currently attends Montessori and picks up a lot of English in the process, some words of which she passes on to her brothers (*dummy, stop,* etc.). The sample consists of a repetition of eighty Spanish words taken in part from the corpus of the other subjects. The taping was conducted with each child in my office at home. Aside from serving as a point of comparison with the other data, these samples allow comparisons to be made in the phonological development of the two children. Though the results are similar, they are not identical. (See Appendix for list of words and phonetic rendition by the twins.)

Gustavo produced more words correctly than Román (twenty-nine to fifteen). Both children converted the trill to a lateral in *carro* and *arroz* (car and rice, respectively). The lateral was also substituted for the tap in *pájaro* (bird). Román was better able to produce nasal + stop consonant clusters than his brother; he was able to maintain three of six, while Gustavo maintained only one. Both reduced other consonant cluster types, with Gustavo performing slightly better in word-initial position. Both boys reduced word-medial consonant clusters equally often; the stop consonant was the member of the cluster they maintained, as with our other subjects. Román was more prone to substitute one consonant for another, especially stops for fricatives, although other substitutions were also noted, e.g., those differing in place of articulation.

Difficulties with vowels were relatively infrequent, accounting for seven of Gustavo's deviations versus eleven for Román. Changes were usually toward the vowel contained in the accented syllable. In monosyllabic words, vowels were always rendered correctly. Omission of syllables in multisyllable words was also kept to a minimum, probably reflecting the deliberate articulation on the interviewer's part, and the nature of the task. The twins exhibited the same behaviors mentioned for the other subjects. This added strength to our findings with the other children.

Conclusion

Our study with this group of children has served to confirm some of Jakobson's projections, refute others, and provide only tentative evidence on some. Principles 1, 3, 6, 7, and 9 received substantial support from our data; principles 4 and 5 were refuted. The data are inconclusive on 2, 8, and 10. Principle 10 requires some modification to conform with Spanish phonotactic rules. In this area of Spanish-language acquisition, more than the others, we have barely begun to explore the complexities of how children manage in so short a time to acquire the phonological tools to make themselves understood.

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Appendix

Repetition of Selected Words
By Twin Boys, Gustavo and Román, Age 22½ Months

Word	English Meaning	Gustavo's Rendition	Román's Rendition
1. *color*	color	[kolól]	[kolór]
2. *carro*	car	[kálo]	[kálo]
3. *vente*	come	[béṱe]	[báte]
4. *este*	this	[ṱésṱe]~[ésṱe]	[ése]
5. *pronto*	quick	[plón̪ṱlo]	[pón̪ṱo]
6. *otro*	another	[óṱro]	[d̪óṱo]
7. *puerta*	door	[póṱla]~[póṱa]	[pwéṱa]
8. *pescado*	fish	[pẹʰkáđo]	[ṱisṱáđo]
9. *caja*	box	[páha]	[?áha]
10. *cayó*	he or she fell	[kayó]	[kayó]
11. *perro*	dog	[pélo]	[pélo]
12. *zapatos*	shoes	[sapáṱos]	[ṱapáṱos]
13. *pantalones*	pants	[kaṱalón̪es]	[kakalón̪es]
14. *muñeca*	doll	[mukéṱa]	[kayé:ka]
15. *lápiz*	pencil	[lápis]	[lápis]
16. *huevo*	egg	[wéƀo]	[wíƀo]
17. *payaso*	clown	[payás]	[kawíso]
18. *televisión*	television	[ṱelefišón̪]	[ṱele:syón̪]
19. *libro*	book	[lívlo]	[ílo]
20. *pelota*	ball	[pelóṱa]	[olóṱa]
21. *muchachita*	girl	[mučičiṱa]	[telačíṱa]
22. *leche*	milk	[lǽče]	[léše]
23. *limonada*	lemonade	[limolaláđa]	[molalála]
24. *teléfono*	telephone	[ṱeleéfan̪o]	[péfon̪o]
25. *pájaro*	bird	[páhalo]	[péȟalo]
26. *mosca*	fly	[móhka]	[móka]
27. *caballo*	horse	[kaƀáyo]	[kaƀáyo]
28. *reloj*	clock	[læló]	[leló]
29. *arroz*	rice	[alós]	[kalós]
30. *frijoles*	beans	[fihóles]	[fịhóles]
31. *carne*	meat	[kán̪e]	[kán̪e]

Word	English Meaning	Gustavo's Rendition	Román's Rendition
32. *flan*	pudding	[flan̪]	[pan̪]
33. *funda*	pillowcase	[fót̪a]	[pón̪d̪a]
34. *sal*	salt	[sal]	[hal]
35. *luz*	light	[lus]	[lus]
36. *manzana*	apple	[masán̪a]	[lasán̪a]~[lat̪an̪a]
37. *plátano*	banana	[plát̪an̪o]	[hén̪o]
38. *gente*	people	[t̪ét̪e]	[ké:n̪e:]
39. *cama*	bed	[káma]	[káma:]
40. *dormir*	sleep	[đormíl]	[domír]
41. *café*	coffee	[kafé]	[kafé]
42. *taza*	cup	[t̪ása]	[kása]
43. *vaso*	glass	[báso]	[bát̪o]
44. *fideo*	vermicelli	[taƀéo]	[kaƀéyo]
45. *ratón*	mouse	[lat̪ón̪]	[lat̪ón̪]
46. *tortuga*	turtle	[t̪ot̪úka]	[t̪at̪úla]
47. *pistola*	gun	[pist̪óla]	[t̪at̪óla]
48. *tomate*	tomato	[t̪omát̪e]	[t̪omát̪e]
49. *chicle*	gum	[číkele]	[číkle]
50. *chocolate*	chocolate	[čọkolát̪e]	[kekelát̪e]
51. *dulce*	candy	[dúlse]	[dúlt̪es]
52. *correr*	run	[kolél]	[kolér]
53. *vaca*	cow	[ƀáka]	[ƀóka]
54. *afuera*	outside	[afóla]	[héa]
55. *arriba*	up	[alíƀa]	[aƀíƀa]
56. *bicicleta*	bicycle	[bisilét̪a]	[t̪akét̪a]
57. *vestido*	dress	[ƀest̪íđo]	[t̪et̪ílo]
58. *conejo*	rabbit	[kon̪ét̪o]	[t̪en̪ího]
59. *verde*	green	[b^{w}é:te]	[ƀére]
60. *gracias*	thank you	[gláčas]	[gásya]
61. *negro*	black	[kléklo]	[nélo]
62. *cachucha*	cap	[kačúča]	[kačúča]
63. *acabé*	I finished	[akaƀés]	[kaƀé]
64. *dinero*	money	[alélo]~[n̪alélo]	[enéđo]
65. *marrano*	pig	[malán̪o]	[t̪at̪án̪ct̪]
66. *llave*	key	[láƀe]	[láƀe]
67. *gato*	cat	[gát̪o]	[t̪át̪o]
68. *barco*	boat	[báko]	[báko]
69. *chango*	monkey	[čáko]~[yáko]	[čán̪ko]
70. *sí*	yes	[si]	[si]
71. *azúcar*	sugar	[asúka]	[kót̪a]
72. *piso*	floor	[píso]	[píso]

Word	English Meaning	Gustavo's Rendition	Román's Rendition
73. *colorado*	red	[koloáđo]	[kalalálo]
74. *escoba*	broom	[akóƀa]	[kóƀa]
75. *ropa*	clothes	[lópa]	[lópa]
76. *cadena*	chain	[kavén̪a]	[kan̪én̪a]
77. *campana*	bell	[apán̪a]	[kampán̪a]
78. *cepillo*	brush	[t̪epío]	[papíyo]
79. *medicina*	medicine	[melesín̪a]	[međesín̪a]
80. *nuevo*	new	[n̪éƀo]	[wéƀo]

CHAPTER 5

The Role of Bilingual Education in the Cultural Adjustment of Puerto Rican Students

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Introduction

The assumption in the education of students recently arrived in the United States has been to teach English as a second language (ESL) initially and then introduce them to subject matter. This approach has not encouraged many Puerto Rican students to stay in school and to graduate. Golub, Prewitt Díaz, and Frye (1980), in a study conducted in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, found that only 17 percent of all Puerto Rican students (1976-80) completed high school. One reason given by the drop-outs was their difficulty in adjusting to the school setting (Golub et al., 1980).

The adjustment process comprises much more than the acquisition of a new language (English), although this is an important part of the process. Ekstrand (1977) suggests the recent arrival, in addition to learning a second language, must also acquire new concepts, new behavior patterns, new emotional ties, and familiarity with all the cultural meaning that the new language reflects.

Falchi (1979) indicates that in the initial stage of cultural adjustment, the recent arrival becomes exposed to two languages and two cultures. This exposure leads to mental strain, confusion, and disarray because only a small number of the recent arrivals have really learned their native language from an early age. Prewitt Díaz (1980), Kavestky (1978), and Ramos Perea (1978) suggest that recently arrived students experience discrepancies in language and cultural behavior patterns between the home and the school.

The greater the discrepancy between the cultural behavior patterns, the more numerous and greater the conflict for these students. Ekstrand (1977) and Eppink (1979) suggest that all behavior has a communicative component, the significance of which is often subconsciously perceived. Ekstrand indicates that all behavior affects individuals emotionally, in a way that in everyday life usually evades direct observation and analysis. Cultural behavior differences may thus create misunderstandings and conflicts, some of which are unintentional (Nine-Court, 1978).

Falchi (1979) indicates that language achievement does not automatically promote good adjustment. However, an indispensable preliminary condition for successful school adaptation and social integration is knowing the language and culture of the host country (Santa Pinter, 1982). A school activity that might promote the acquisition and development of a second language and knowledge of culture is reading.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine if students from three high schools in the northeastern part of Pennsylvania would adjust to the mainland educational system if given the opportunity to (1) participate in a bilingual education program, and (2) experience cultural adjustment as a lifelong process.

Sample

For the purpose of this study, 540 students were selected from within existing bilingual education classes in three high schools in northeastern Pennsylvania. The students were at the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade levels. All the participants were first generation Puerto Ricans who had been students on the mainland for fewer than two years. The total number of females in the study was 309, and the total number of males was 231. The ages of the students ranged from fifteen to eighteen years old.

Treatment

There were three treatment groups, all participants in bilingual education-English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) classes. The treatment for Groups A and B lasted thirty weeks between the administration of the pretest and posttest.

Group A was exposed to two activities as the treatment. The first activity was participation in the Bilingual Language Development Program (BLDP). The BLDP consisted of a language arts and developmental reading module in English *(Modular Sequence in Puerto Rican English,* 1974, and Cruz Suárez, 1981), which consisted of four Puerto Rican short stories presented in English. The second module in the BLDP combined language arts and reading in Spanish *(Modular Sequence in Puerto Rican Spanish,* 1974, and Miranda, 1981). Each module emphasized oral reading and writing skills in either Spanish or English, on the assumption that the contact with printed matter would increase pleasure and proficiency in reading. Participation in a Silent Way Laboratory (Gattegno, 1971) three times a week in English and two times a week in Spanish was required.

The second activity in the treatment for Group A consisted of a set of Cultural Adjustment Activities. These activities were conducted over ten sessions and were based on the Gestalt cycle of experience: sensation, awareness, action, contact, resolution, and closure (Passons, 1975). Each session was initiated by eliciting a theme relating to cultural adjustment. During the first session, students and parents viewed a slide presentation about the school setting and shared a question and answer period (sensation). In the second, third, and fourth sessions, the students interacted with each other for one hour.

The topics included the migration experiences, differences and similarities among other students, and strategies for interacting with Anglo students. At this point, the students were encouraged to verbalize self- and environmental awareness and to attend to nonverbal awareness. The fifth, sixth, and seventh sessions were spent in meeting with Anglo students (action) and trying to establish a simple conversation, visiting in an Anglo student's home, and discussing differences and similarities in the Puerto Rican and Anglo home environment (contact). The last three sessions were spent in exploring similarities between Puerto Rican and Anglo students and identifying strategies that would assist the Puerto Rican students' integration into school life. The students were required to keep a written diary throughout the ten sessions. The diary was shared with their peers and teachers, thus allowing for a language experience in vocabulary development and clear written expression (resolution-closure).

Group B was exposed only to the Cultural Adjustment Activities discussed above. They participated in this activity as a group but separated from those in treatment A.

Group C, or the control group, was administered a pretest and posttest. No special activities were provided. The students continued to participate in the ESOL program.

Instrumentation

The instruments that were used to collect the data from the entire group were the following: *The Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills* (CTBS) (CTBS/McGraw-Hill, 1975). Two subtests were used for the purpose of this study: reading vocabulary and spelling. For the purpose of the statistical analysis total raw scores were utilized.

Statistical Analysis

It was hypothesized that there would be no significant differences in reading vocabulary and spelling as measured by the CTBS in pretest-posttest mean scores among students in the three treatment groups. A three-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to scrutinize the differences between and within interaction for treatment and grade.

Table 1 contains the three-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) for English-language development. Although the main effects between grade levels was not significant, the interaction between pretest/posttest and grade level means showed a significant difference (F = 4.834; p<.01).

It was predicted that there would be no significant differences across treatments. The three-way ANOVA (Table 1) yielded a significant difference between treatments (F = 134.032; p<.001). The study also predicted that there would be no significant differences between pretest and posttest scores on reading vocabulary and spelling (CTBS). The three-way ANOVA in Table 1 indicates that the pretest-posttest gains were significant (F = 1067.42; p<.001).

A one-factor ANOVA was performed to ascertain the nature of the grade level interaction. In Table 2, significant differences are evident in both pretest and posttest results.

In summary, the impact of the Bilingual Language Development Program and the Cultural Adjustment Activities produced significant positive changes between pretest and posttest for all grade levels

Table 1

Three-Way Analysis of Variance
Summary Table for Reading Vocabulary and Spelling

Source	df	SS	MS	F	Significance
Between					
Treatment	2	4187.410	2093.706	134.032	.001**
Grade	2	45.735	22.867	1.464	n.s.
Treatment by Grade	4	71.609	17.902	1.146	n.s.
Error	531	8294.742	15.620		
Within					
Pretest-Posttest	1	7483.934	7483.934	1067.420	.001**
Treatment by Test	2	2441.235	1220.618	174.094	.001**
Grade by Test	2	67.790	33.895	4.834	.01*
Test by Treatment by Grade	4	51.564	12.891	1.839	n.s.

*Significance level <.01.
**Significance level <.001.
n.s. not significant

in the acquisition of English despite significant differences in pretest scores across grade levels.

The pair-wise contrast for the posttest reflected a significant difference between treatment A and treatment C (t = 28.194; p<.001). A

Table 2

One-Factor Analysis of Variance for Grade Level Pretest and Posttest Means for Reading Vocabulary and Spelling

Source	df	MS	F	Significance
1. Pretest				
Grade	2	102.241	14.582	.001*
Error	531	7.011		
2. Posttest				
Grade	2	3212.75	458.24	.001*
Error	531	7.011		

*Significance level <.001.

Table 3

Pair-wise Contrasts for the Pretest and Posttest Means for Reading Vocabulary and Spelling

Source	df	Difference	t	Significance
1. Pretest				
A-C	531	1.43	5.102	.001*
A-B	531	.284	1.018	n.s.
B-C	531	1.14	4.084	.001*
2. Posttest				
A-C	531	7.869	28.194	.001*
A-B	531	6.60	23.647	.001*
B-C	531	1.269	4.547	.001*

*Significance level <.001.

significant difference between treatment A and treatment B was obtained (t = 23.647; p<.001). The pair-wise contrast also yielded a significant difference (t = 4.547; p<.001) between treatment B and treatment C.

The statistical analysis revealed that treatment A (BLDP and Cultural Adjustment Activities) resulted in significantly higher scores in the CTBS means than treatment B (Cultural Adjustment Activities only), which in turn resulted in higher scores than treatment C (English for speakers of other languages only). Therefore, the hypothesis was rejected.

In summary, the impact of instruction, evidenced by the pretest and posttest scores in the CTBS, was that all treatments produced significant positive changes between pretest and posttest for grade levels despite significant differences in pretest scores across grade levels. Moreover, the BLDP in combination with Cultural Adjustment Activities was significantly more effective than Cultural Adjustment Activities alone, which in turn were more effective than ESOL alone.

Conclusion

The bilingual education-ESOL programs were having an impact on the students' second language development. However, one can conclude from these findings that bilingual education programs that also include extensive reading and cultural adjustment activities accelerate the adjustment process into the host society as well as second language development.

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CHAPTER 6

Toward a Qualitative Analysis of Teacher Disapproval Behavior

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Background

The systematic study of classroom verbal behavior in the United States can be traced back to the early years of this century. However, not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of the verbal interaction studies have been conducted in schools where both the teachers and their students were from White middle-class backgrounds (Dunkin and Biddle, 1974). The interest in educational research related to minority populations is relatively recent and can be most directly related to the thrust for civil rights in the 1960s. This interest, especially as it related to Hispanic students, received a further push by the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968.

Since the mid 1960s a few studies have looked into the relationship of race or ethnicity to classroom verbal interaction (Parsons, 1965; Rosenhan, 1966; Rubovitz and Maehr, 1971; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972; Johnson, 1974; Townsend, 1974; Muñoz Hernández, 1979; Santiago Santiago, 1981; and others). These studies have modeled the traditional methodologies developed for classroom observation, particularly that of Bellack (Bellack and Davitz, 1963) and Flanders (1970). In so doing they have concentrated on describing the verbal interactions quantitatively, within predetermined observational categories. The qualitative differences of responses within a given category have tended to be ignored.

Although these studies have not focused on qualitative aspects of classroom interaction, they have shown great interest in specific categories, especially those reflecting teacher praise or disapproval. These categories have been viewed as an indicator of potential inequality in the treatment of minority students, and prior to the Muñoz study in 1979 and the Santiago Santiago study in 1981, all these studies suggest that Black and Hispanic students received less teacher praise than White students.

Qualitative aspects of classroom verbal interactions began to be seriously considered in the 1970s. In a study prepared by Byalick (1972), the classroom behavior of sixty female elementary school teachers was analyzed, with particular attention to the qualitative issues surrounding praise and disapproval. Byalick's most striking conclusions are that teachers did not in practice use the reinforcement techniques they said that they used, and that the praise they gave may not have had the effect of reinforcing students. Brophy (1980) expands on Byalick's observations by making the point that teacher praise/disapproval is a subjective reaction based on perception of student needs rather than the quality of student conduct. In his analysis, Brophy sheds light on the complexity within the category of praise. He contends that in the past the conceptualization of the praise category has been too broadly conceived and therefore has tended to obscure rather than reveal the richness of classroom interaction in this area. He further suggests that the categorization of a number of different behaviors into one broad category only because they share surface similarities is misleading. He concludes that an effort must be made to obtain a richer view of classroom life by making greater distinction in classroom process variables.

The concern for examining the relationship of culture to classroom verbal behavior was introduced based on the growing body of research in bilingual education that suggests cultural factors are critical to understanding classroom interactions (Cazden and Leggett, 1976; Hymes, 1976; Ramírez and Castañeda, 1974; Cárdenas, 1973). Following the suggestions of this theoretical research, Muñoz (1979) undertook a study of classroom verbal interactions of Hispanic teachers with Hispanic students. In matching the ethnicity of the teacher and students, Muñoz assumed that the match might uncover patterns of classroom communication that differed from those documented in the substantial body of literature pertaining to a White population. The study used traditional quantitative data collection techniques and observational categories so that the findings could be related to the existing body of verbal interaction research. No efforts were made to study the verbal responses qualitatively.

The Muñoz (1979) study revealed that Hispanic teachers and students generally play by the same "rules of the game" that have been documented for nonminority classrooms. Nevertheless, some noteworthy variations did occur. In the Muñoz study, Hispanic teachers structured their lessons to a much greater extent and solicited responses from students less frequently. Students for their part were less aggressive in that they structured, solicited, and reacted less than their White counterparts. The percentage of time in which praise or disapproval occurred in the classroom was consistent with the findings in the main body of literature. This lack of quantifiable difference may suggest, as Brophy does, that differences in this area may be masked by surface similarities that are common to both cultures. The difference in the amount of praise or disapproval that previous researchers had uncovered in racially or ethnically mixed classrooms does not show up in the Muñoz study, in which the ethnicity of teachers and students is matched.

In her conclusions, Muñoz suggests that the quantitative differences in the verbal interaction patterns of Hispanic and mainstream classrooms need to be studied further and that issues around cultural differences are a critical area to investigate. She speculates:

> If the difference in the verbal interaction pattern found in mainstream and Hispanic classrooms is indeed a result of cultural values, it may provide an important clue for understanding "cultural responsiveness" as it applies to Hispanic students. The descriptions of the interactions between Hispanic teachers and Hispanic students...make these cultural rules visible in the classroom setting. It is logical to assume that the behaviors they exhibit are the behaviors they find most comfortable. If...Hispanic teachers depend more heavily on structuring with their Hispanic students...it may have important implications for how Hispanic students learn best and who they learn best from. (Muñoz, 1979, pp. 62-63)

More recently, Santiago Santiago (1981) carried out a study of the verbal interactions of teachers and students in ethnically and racially mixed classrooms. The study focused on differences in the way White and Hispanic teachers interact verbally with Hispanic children in their classrooms. No quantitative differences were found in the categories of questioning and answering or praise and disapproval. These findings, particularly the lack of difference in the area of praise and disapproval, once again brought up the question of the efficacy of using a broad category universally to describe behaviors that may significantly differ in ways that standard observational instruments do not pick up.

Although the Santiago Santiago study did not show quantitative differences, the preponderance of available research suggests that differences do exist and that the importance of these differences should not be discounted. Both the Byalick (1972) and Brophy (1980) studies suggest strongly that praise is not simply a mechanical issuance of approving words. Byalick notes that White teachers tended to restrict to White children reinforcement by touching, and that in general most reinforcement was perfunctory. Brophy points to the complexity of praise as a category of observation. He suggests, for example, that praise is often used as a rejection of students, and that teachers tend to praise students they do not like. Student characteristics identified by Brophy as attracting negative praise include the child's inability to look the teacher in the eye, unattractiveness, and the child's lack of persistence. All these characteristics are highly susceptible to cultural interpretations and reflect cultural values.

The importance of looking more closely at the issue of praise and disapproval is supported by evidence both inside and outside the educational literature. The evidence suggests that minority children may suffer from rejections in ways we have not fully considered. The psychiatric study of problems of Blacks suggests that almost all Black-White interactions are characterized by automatic or unconscious belittlements and that these criticisms tend to work in a cumulative fashion to chip away at Black self-esteem (Pierce, 1974). These perceptions find resonance in the educational literature.

Rosenhan (1966) found that the learning of lower-class children was more heavily influenced by praise or disapproval than that of middle-class children, and suggests that this may be due to their alienation in a middle-class institution. By the same token, he found that performance of lower-class children was disrupted more by disapproval than was the case with middle-class children.

Although classroom interaction is a heavily researched area, much still remains to be investigated. Based on the brief review here, approval/disapproval appears to be a particularly useful category for further indepth qualitative studies of verbal interaction patterns. The research suggests that it is a complex category with deeply imbedded cultural components and that it may have particularly significant implications for the education of minority children. Indepth analysis of this category might yield important differences in the approval/disapproval communication styles of various cultural groups, and may be further useful in building a base of information from which to hypothesize about the function and effect of praise and disapproval for these groups in educational settings.

First Steps toward Establishing a Design

In the spirit of inquiry suggested above, the authors have initiated a reanalysis of disapproval behaviors of White and Hispanic teachers based on the data gathered in the Santiago Santiago (1981) study. This study presents a readily available database from which to explore the relationship of culture to classroom interaction. The data are particularly interesting in light of the quantitative findings of no difference in the approval/disapproval rates for Hispanic and White teachers. The question asked in the reanalysis of these data is whether qualitative research could yield previously unnoticed differences in the disapproval styles of White and Hispanic teachers.

To begin an exploration of this question, a subsample of fourteen audiotapes from the forty-three in the original Santiago Santiago study were transcribed and analyzed. This subsample included all five Hispanic teachers in the original sample, for which seven tapes were available, and a random selection of five White teachers and seven tapes for that group. The tapes were made during social studies classes of third and fourth graders. Approximately one-third of the total student population was Black, one-third White, and one-third Hispanic.

The reanalysis of the Santiago Santiago audiotapes focused specifically on the communication styles used by Hispanic and White teachers to reject student conduct. Disapproved behaviors included talking out in class, not sitting down, and not following instructions. The decision to focus so specifically on this one verbal interaction category in the initial reanalysis was based on the desire to minimize the effects of intervening variables. Unlike praise statements which may reflect a wide variety of hidden agendas (Brophy, 1980), rejection statements appear to be more straightforward, spontaneous attempts by the teacher to stop inappropriate or disruptive behavior. How a teacher reacts in situations of this nature is inevitably influenced by his or her ingrained repertoire of persuasion techniques (Papajohn and Spiegel, 1975). Because statements rejecting personal behavior tend not to be thought out or entwined with other agendas to the degree that praise can be, they provide relatively unmuddied information about the cultural context of disapproval and make the task of "teasing out" cultural communication style somewhat less problematic.

In developing a structure within which to reanalyze "rejection," the category was subdivided into individual disapproval and group disapproval. This subdivision was based on the work of Papajohn and Spiegel (1975), who suggest that one area of difference between Puerto Ricans and members of the White middle class is in the nature of the relationships among individuals in a group. For Puerto Ricans the stress is on group control of individuals. For White middle-class members, the emphasis is on individual control of behavior in group situations.

Once these subcategories were established, the teacher rejection statements were listed out separately for Hispanic teachers and White teachers. Listing out each statement completely allowed the researchers to focus attention on stylistic differences in the statements. The responses of the Hispanic and White teachers were compared for any differences that they suggested. The authors analyzed the lists without consulting one another, in order to come up with independent impressions about the data. To provide an additional check on their perceptions, a third reader,* who was unfamiliar with the study or the authors' impressions, also reviewed the lists for differences between the statements made by White and Hispanic teachers. Once this phase was completed, the authors came together in order to reach a consensus about what they had seen. The process of individually reviewing the data led to a richer view of the information. While there were no areas of disagreement, each reviewer was able to add insights not picked up by the others.

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*The third reader was a doctoral candidate specializing in bilingual education at Columbia University.

The Findings

In comparing the rejecting statements of the Hispanic and White teachers there appeared to be noticeable differences in the way rejections were phrased. Hispanic teachers, to a far greater degree than their White counterparts, used indirect forms in making their disapprovals. As defined here indirectness means the addition of conditional tenses to the request, appeals to the students of a personal nature and the consistent use of polite forms such as "excuse me" or "please." It is contrasted to direct command forms in English such as "Sit down and do your work" or "Be quiet." Examples of the disapproval statements of the Hispanic teachers follow:

Individual Disapproval by Hispanic Teachers

- "Domingo, you can copy it later." This statement is an indirect appeal. Rather than saying "Stop what you're doing," an appeal is made to bring the student back to the teacher's agenda, without overruling his agenda entirely.
- "Estela, give me a chance." This statement is an indirect appeal for Estela to stop her activity, based on the premise of her respect for the teacher as a person. Similar forms of this appeal include such statements as "Carmen, do me a favor" or "Bobby, excuse me, I'd like to hear what she's saying."
- "Juan, please do not get up." In this case a polite form is used to keep the student in his seat instead of directly telling him to sit down.

Group Disapproval by Hispanic Teachers

- "I think everybody here is talking at the same time. I can't continue like this. There's too many people talking. . . ." In this case the teacher softens the reprimand by feigning vagueness ("I think") and making a personal appeal for quiet.
- "It would be nice if we don't have to stop. Let her finish." In this statement the teacher uses the subjunctive form to express a demand for quiet in the class. It is a common way of asking for something in Spanish.
- "Excuse me. We all have to listen to Carmen. You're not being very polite to Carmen." In this interaction the teacher stressed group cohesiveness and respect for both herself and the student.

The disapproval statements of Hispanic teachers were evenly distributed among appeals to the individual and appeals to the group. However, in appealing to the group the Hispanic teachers tended to react as part of the group. The statements generally carry the implication that the group (including the teacher) is somehow emotionally related.

In contrast to the disapproval style of Hispanic teachers, the White teachers tended to be more direct in their disapproval statements. The statements of the White teachers were noticeably shorter and to the point. Examples include:

Individual Disapproval by White Teachers

- "Hold it . . . there's someone not paying attention, Edwin." Although this statement has some indirectness in it, the teacher begins with an imperative and ends by pointing out the guilty party.
- "Sit up, Ana." The teacher makes a short, direct command.
- "Just put your coat away and come." The teacher issues a short, direct command.

Group Disapproval by White Teachers

- "I'm sorry, you're not going to shout my name." In this instance the teacher seems to build barriers emphasizing social distance between the class and the teacher.
- "Don't shout at me," "Raise your hands," "No talking." The teacher's statements reflect direct, to-the-point commands, with no sense of the teacher's being part of the group.

The White teachers, like their Hispanic counterparts, tended to distribute their statements of disapproval evenly between statements aimed at the individual and those aimed at the group. However, the White teachers' group statements tended to be very short and direct, and did not suggest any identity with the students. This was markedly different from the overall pattern for statements made by the Hispanic teachers. While the White teachers' statements to the group were particularly short, their statements to individuals were somewhat more elaborate.

Although both Hispanic and White teachers displayed the same broad repertoire of statements, the frequency with which the various forms of appeal were used did differ substantially. Hispanics tended to use longer, more indirect approaches that appealed to the group, or to individual respect for another person. The disapproval statements of White teachers on the other hand were shorter, more direct, and generally in the active present tense.

Reflections

This brief incursion into a qualitative analysis of classroom verbal interaction, while far from exhaustive, provides a meaningful cultural context for data that otherwise yield little information. The quantitative analysis of the Santiago Santiago (1981) data shows no differences in the amount of rejection by White and Hispanic teachers. Indeed, while the amount of rejecting behavior is roughly equal for both teacher groups, the way each group carries out this behavior is strikingly different, and has implications for educational practitioners and researchers.

The quality of indirectness found in the Hispanic rejection strategies relies heavily on polite forms. The use of the conditionals such as "could" and "would," the mediating phrases, and the personal appeals all reflect the Puerto Rican value of *respeto* or respect. But *respeto*, more than respect in English, means that even individuals who are closely related must make a show of the deference ritual which is a masked request. For example, deference is ritualized in the popular Spanish saying *si Dios quisiera* — "If only God would will it so." A very different and less polite way of making the same request is the more direct "Please God, make it so." Another manifestation of *respeto* is making a show of being offended in order to obtain compliance. By showing that you have been offended, the other person complies to your demand out of respect (Lauria, 1964).

The Hispanic teachers in the sample are enacting this deference ritual with the children in their classrooms. Interestingly, this culturally learned communication strategy continues despite the fact that all the lessons are conducted in English and the classes are ethnically mixed. This use of culturally ingrained communication styles even in mixed groups supports the contention that conversational style may be more resistant to change than other indicators of ethnicity, such as the use of Spanish in the classroom (Tannen, in press).

The observation of more directness in the statements of the White teachers and their greater use of the present tense is supported in a study by Kluwin (1977), who found that White junior high school teachers use the present tense more often. The elaboration of statements directed at individual misbehavior by the White teachers may best be explained by the work of Papajohn and Spiegel (1975), who make the point that the White middle class encourages children to control themselves individually, while Hispanic families enforce discipline by reminding children that misbehavior on their part will bring disgrace on the whole family. This approach to control was used by a Hispanic teacher who was having difficulty controlling her classroom. She appealed to her class at the end of one lesson as follows:

> I wish that Margaret [the observer] could play the tape back to you. Just so you could see how terrible you appear to everyone. Talking at the same time. Not letting other people talk. Just so you could see that we won't be able to understand anything.

Increased understanding of the cultural communication styles of both White and Hispanic teachers can help bridge unconscious communication gaps between them and their students, and lead to more effective education in multicultural settings. In the last analysis, children learn with effective teachers regardless of race or ethnicity (Yando et al., 1971). One of the skills needed for effective teaching in a multicultural setting is the ability to communicate effectively.

Next Steps

As this paper shows, quantitative studies of classroom behavior need not and in fact should not be separated from qualitative studies. We need not choose between these methodologies. Taken together they provide richer insights into the activities of a classroom than either could provide individually. As a logical next step, the authors are planning a larger study that will investigate the cultural dynamics uncovered here. Forty audiotapes of third and fourth grade social studies lessons have already been collected from the White teacher population. Forty comparable classroom lessons will be taped from the Hispanic teacher population. During this next round of research, disapproval, as well as additional categories, will be analyzed qualitatively based on the methodology described in this paper.

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CHAPTER 7

Assessing the Ethnolinguistic Complexity of a Community

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Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to describe a model for estimating the ethnolinguistic complexity of a community. This model originated as part of an issue over whether a local community's school district was justified in its prior decision to provide its non-English-speaking pupils with only transitional language programs. As probably happens with many ethnically mixed urban school districts, the level of ethnolinguistic complexity was judged at the outset by the district's central administration to be overwhelming. The possibility of developing language maintenance programs was not even seriously considered.

During the course of program evaluation, the community's ethnolinguistic complexity was investigated by a formal model explicitly evolved for that purpose. The potential usefulness of this model for meeting a wide variety of needs has since taken me far beyond the original reason for its coming into being. Before getting into the details of the model, however, let me present some reasons why I think estimating ethnolinguistic complexity is worthwhile.

First, if one is going to solve a problem, one should know its magnitude in advance. Granted, David didn't know ahead of time that Goliath was a giant, but then, David's methods were insensitive to the size of his adversary. Nor did David have to write a proposal specifying in operational terms exactly how he intended to educate a large group of Philistines using a small group of stones. But times have changed, and we can afford no such gambling of public resources on problems whose magnitude lacks specification. If bilingual bicultural education is going to be used to solve a problem, the size and complexity of the problem should be estimated as early, as accurately, and as simply as possible.

Second, it makes sense to account for the bilingual bicultural needs of all groups in a community under a single descriptive framework. If a community is ethnolinguistically complex, the equitable distribution of resources across all ethnolinguistic groups should be provided for in advance. When funding is being sought, the very appearance of parochialism, for example, makes it difficult to convince legislators, school boards, or commissioners of education that public money should be spent on one group to the possible exclusion of others. A comprehensive estimate of all the community's potential beneficiaries not only would remove this special interest problem, but would also help aggregate the target population into a size more congenial to the allocation of existing community resources.

Third, if the ethnolinguistic complexity of a community is known, two potential objections to bilingual bicultural programs are met simultaneously. The first objection comes from those who think the problem is more complex than it really is, and the second comes from those who think it is too simple to spend resources on. My experience has been that both objections flourish best in ignorance of the actual data. Return for a moment to the example of David and his rock collection. As he went about gathering his stones there must surely have been those in the crowd debating, "Is one enough, are five too many?" For David, it was an empirical question for which he had a supremely effective evaluation design. If he had thought one stone would do, he wouldn't have picked up five, except perhaps out of a strong sense of self-preservation, inasmuch as Goliath had four sons. The point is that the best way to make a case is by means of the best data available, organized in the clearest possible way.

Fourth, to the extent that ethnolinguistic complexity can be accounted for in a systematic way, the problem of implementing bilingual bicultural education is made more manageable. Not only does the size of the problem become known, as noted above, but the potential beneficiaries of its solution become treated as identifiable persons as well. Rather than becoming lost in the system, individuals can become more easily found — especially if they are identified educationally in ways consistent with how they identify themselves ethnolinguistically. By dealing educationally with as many ethnolinguistic distinctions as necessary, and no more than necessary, the organization of the total effort can be more easily implemented, followed, and modified.

Fifth, a systematic approach to the issue of ethnolinguistic complexity has implications for research and evaluation. To the extent that a model can be devised that portrays an accurate ethnolinguistic picture of one community, it can be used in others, perhaps to compare different approaches. Longitudinal changes could also be detected in the communities' ethnolinguistic structures. Today's Philistines just aren't what they used to be. Beyond that we do not know much. If only a proper baseline had been gathered by David's evaluation consultants we would know exactly the long-range impact of his short-range program. The point is that estimating ethnolinguistic complexity is not just an exercise in idle curiosity. Properly constructed, the model by which these estimates are made can also be the basis for formal research and evaluation designs.

What sort of model can we construct, then, that possesses all these virtues? The initial answer is: one that is systematic, simple, and natural.

Systematic means that the rules for making distinctions within the model are consistently applied. Thus, terms such as *language*, *grade level*, or *non-English proficiency* are always applied with the same meaning using the same procedures, even if those procedures systematically require human judgments.

Simple means that the model should seek to portray ethnolinguistic complexity with as few distinctions as possible. There are two ways to make an unnecessary distinction. One way is to require distinctions that one cannot really make, and the other is to make distinctions that don't make a difference. In the former case we are asking our measurement techniques to go beyond their limits of reliability and validity. In the latter case we are asking our measuring instruments to make distinctions we have no intention of recognizing in actual practice. For example, achievement test score differences of one point or less would lead to unnecessary distinctions on both counts.

Natural means faithful to the real world or, more exactly, to two "real" worlds. One world is that of sociolinguistic reality in which information about culture, ethnicity, and language conforms to the natural distinctions that those who inhabit these concepts objectively make among themselves. Just because two groups have a language in common does not mean they treat themselves as ethnically identical under all, or even any, circumstances. The other world is that of schooling, which also makes natural distinctions among its inhabitants. The natural distinctions that schools make among pupils might be better called educationally significant distinctions, inasmuch as they represent ways of classifying pupils according to the kinds of treatment the school is organized to deliver. In fact, schools tend to use these distinctions so undeviatingly that their existence is hardly noticed and seldom seriously questioned. Age and grade are among the most obvious of these often inarticulated distinctions. Ability grouping is less obvious but more controversial. Sex grouping is introduced only under special circumstances and has only recently come into its own as a controversial basis for making distinctions.

It is just as important to build on the natural structure of the educational component of the model as it is to build on the natural structure of the sociolinguistic component. In both domains, the units of systematic analysis are best constructed on the natural units that the actors in an environment view as the existing ways and places in which things are done (Barker and Barker, 1961). Nothing really new is added by researchers except to respond systematically to whatever educational and ethnolinguistic phenomena are of significance to them.

With this introduction in mind, I have organized the rest of this presentation into three main sections. The first section gives an overview of the model, outlining its main dimensions and defining its principal terms. The second section presents a case study of the model's application to a specific question. The third section discusses some potential applications for the model by various groups at different levels of interest in bilingual bicultural education.

The Basic Model

The structural basis of the model is a category system by which pupils in a school district in any one school year are classified according to four variables: (1) ethnolinguistic tradition, (2) level of bilingual language proficiency, (3) grade level, and (4) attendance area.

Table 1 shows the variables in relation to one another. This form serves mainly to highlight each variable's contribution to the complexity of the system. *Ethnolinguistic tradition* contributes a dimension that, of course, the system cannot do without. Its measurement begins with the designation of any non-English language that has any influence on the academic or classroom performance of any particular pupil in the community. The measurement of ethnolinguistic tradition is further refined by the process of establishing whatever further ethnic subdivisions need to be recognized locally.

The measurement of the second variable, *level of proficiency*, is often mistaken for merely a psychometric question about the pupil's cognitive status relevant to language. Perhaps the best way to characterize the problem is that it comprises a variety of linguistic influences that control the patterns of communicative choice and performance in the pupil's total social environment. However the problem is conceptualized and solved in practice, the resulting set of categories will probably range somewhat as shown in Table 1, column II. In the case study presented in the next section the proficiency estimate was made in accordance with five categories established under state statute for the purpose of program placement.

As stated earlier, *grade in school* (variable III), is one of the more robust subdivisions in U.S. life and so ought to be treated as part of the natural history of things. As a contribution to our estimate of ethnolinguistic complexity, it is sufficient to point out that the subdivisions by which differential treatment of pupils is organized are real, are important and, thus, ought to be part of the model. Pupils of different grade levels are combined for special purposes where appropriate, and should also be part of the estimate.

Finally, *attendance area* (variable IV) simply recognizes the fact that if two pupils go to different schools they have to be taught either by different people or by the same people at different times. This is true no matter how similar the pupils are in any other major respect, including the kind of educational treatment they qualify for. The more the members of any particular combination of categories are

Table 1

Basic Variable Set for Estimating Ethnolinguistic Complexity[a]

I Ethnolinguistic Tradition			II Level of Proficiency		III Grade in School			IV Attendance Area	
Language Language Language	A B . . . . . . K	x	Monolingual (non-English) . . . Bilingual . . . Monolingual (varietal English)[b]	x	Primary	K . . 6	x	Primary Schools	1 . . N
					Junior High School	7 8 (9)	x	Junior High Schools	1 . . N
					Senior High School	(9) 10 11 12	x	Senior High Schools	1 . . N

[a] All variables are treated as categorical, even though variables II and III have continuous underlying dimensions in theory. The number of categories in each variable is the minimum number consistent with the need for differential educational treatment.

[b] In order to be counted in this category, the pupil's varietal English must be associated with a particular language, A . . . K, in variable I.

distributed among attendance areas (schools), the more ethnolinguistically complex is the community. It follows that the system by which the community educates its pupils should also distribute its programs to match the distribution of pupils requiring additional services.

As can be seen, the guideline of simplicity has already been observed by limiting the number of variables selected for inclusion. Furthermore, as with any category system, the need to be mutually exclusive and comprehensive is met in the present system. Pupils have a main ethnolinguistic tradition and, with respect to that tradition, they exhibit an observable tendency to communicate under its influence. Likewise, pupils have a grade level and attend a particular school. This is to say nothing about the accuracy with which a system knows these things about its pupils, which is another matter altogether. How a district solves its assessment problem is not primarily the concern of this paper except where mentioned in the next section.

Using the variables as outlined in Table 1, subdivided according to local definitions, it becomes possible to estimate the minimum number of educationally significant ethnolinguistic groups currently in a community. Because combinations of categories are mutually exclusive insofar as they indicate different educational treatments of members of different ethnolinguistic groups, the number of category combinations with at least one pupil constitutes a measure of the district's ethnolinguistic complexity. The categories do not define what educational treatment should be given, only that differential treatment is warranted, based on pupil characteristics.

This, then, is the smallest number of units the district must prepare for, given its intention to provide bilingual bicultural education services at a meaningful level. The foregoing, as the basic version of the model, is a straightforward estimate of the number and types of homogeneous subgroups in a community needing unique bilingual bicultural treatment by its education system.

A number of modifications to the basic model can meet more specialized purposes. Two of them are outlined here to illustrate some directions in which the model can be taken.

The first modification is to combine categories within variables. Table 2 shows the basic variables within which the categories are seen in a new set of arrangements. The choice of available arrangements is open so that recombination according to any functional or theoretical principle can be easily accomplished. Table 2 shows, for example, that variable I, *ethnolinguistic tradition,* has been recast into linguistic subdivisions. A secondary purpose for combining languages into subdivisions, once a rational principle is identified, might be to increase the sample size in order to detect statistical trends for later hypothesis development and testing.

Table 2

Modification of Basic Variable Set by Combining Categories

I Ethnolinguistic Tradition		II Level of Proficiency		III Grade in School		IV Attendance Area
Linguistic subdivision A[a] . . . Linguistic subdivision K	x	same range of proficiency level but fewer categories	x	Primary Junior High School Senior High School	x	all schools combined by virtue of variable III recombination

[a] The creation of linguistic subdivisions can be made according to any principle of interest to the investigator. For example, Asian and non-Asian might be a relevant subdivision.

Another example is in variable III, *grade in school*. Rather than thirteen categories, as in Table 1, variable III has three: primary, junior high, and senior high. It should be noted that the natural organization of schooling is still preserved in this simplification; nothing artificial has been added. Thus, whatever new facts in the system are discovered by this recombination can be hypothesized to be a manifestation of some aspect of the "real world" of schooling in one of its many forms.

As a final example, it may be of interest to see if the various ethnolinguistic groups are evenly distributed across grade levels. Combining the *attendance area* categories (variable IV) would give a relatively clear picture of the situation.

The second kind of modification to the basic model is to transform its variables by the systematic application of weights to categories. Table 3 shows the application of weights generalized by the addition of weight vectors. Within variables, each category receives a weight in the form of a numerical multiplier that augments or reduces its relative contribution to whatever index is being constructed.

A hypothetical situation will show how the application of differential weights may help solve a problem. Let us suppose that during the course of writing a proposal for funding a bilingual bicultural program, the question arose as to how much total time from regular classrooms the proposed special language instruction would take. Among other things, variable II, *level of proficiency,* would be relevant to the estimate because the amount of special instruction needed would be indicated by one's position on that scale. At the monolingual (non-English) end of the scale, a high weight would be applied to the estimate with progressively lower weights applied as one goes down the scale. The precise magnitudes of the weights would, of course, depend on the underlying principle chosen by the investigator.

Any information can be transformed to approximate more closely the anticipated conditions. As long as the weights are rational estimates and not completely arbitrary, a closer approximation to real states of affairs ought to result. In the next section, an example is given in which differential weights were used in the analysis of a major policy issue: whether a school district should develop maintenance, as opposed to transitional, language programs.

Case Study

This section will show how the basic model and its two modifications were applied to a particular community. The applications demonstrated in this case study were chosen to illustrate two things: how the model evolved as a general purpose system and how the model can meet a variety of needs.

Table 3

Modification of Basic Variable Set by Weighting Categories[a]

Ethnolinguistic Tradition		Level of Proficiency		Grade in School		
Variable Category	Weight Vector	Variable Category	Weight Vector	Variable Category		Weight Vector
Language A	1[b]	Monolingual (non-English)	High[c] Weight	Primary	K	High
Language B	1	.	.		.	
.	.	.	.		.	
.	.	.	.		6	
.	.	.	.	Junior High School	7	
.	.	.	.		8,9	
.	.	.	.		.	
		Monolingual (varietal English)	Low Weight	Senior High School	9,10	
Language K					.	
					12	Low

[a] This modification assures some recombinations of categories. Variable IV has been eliminated in this example to show that possibility.

[b] It may be that some principle could be conceptualized for weighting the language differentially. For example, some objective measure of dissimilarity from English might be of interest insofar as to attain some criterion of performance.

[c] This vector will not necessarily be linear in all situations.

First, let us look briefly at the context in which the case is embedded. Alaska is possibly the most linguistically complex state of the union, largely because of the geographical distribution of its languages (Krauss, 1980; Orvik, 1975, 1980). The dynamics of language change and maintenance operate under different sets of pressures depending on where one is on the rural-urban continuum. In rural areas, communities seldom have to concern themselves with more than one non-English language, but in each case the language situation holds intense social and cultural significance. In the cities, many of Alaska's twenty indigenous languages coexist not only with each other, but with a host of nonindigenous languages spoken by many urban migrants, as well. While the social and cultural significance of the cultural mosaic is no less intense in cities, its organization is completely different and must be treated as such.

Fairbanks is Alaska's second largest city, with a population of about 60,000 people, of whom more than 11,000 are of school age. In 1976, because of the school district's proximity to Alaska Native habitats, and because the district did not then have bilingual bicultural education programs, the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights found Fairbanks in presumptive noncompliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Subsequently, the district began to focus attention more and more on the total linguistic situation of the community. Speakers of nonindigenous languages became just as much the subject of program development as those speaking indigenous languages. By 1979, it was known that about 3 percent of Fairbanks's school-age population could be classified as having limited proficiency in English. They were represented across the grades K-12, at twenty different schools, and came from over twenty ethnolinguistic traditions. This, then, was the context calling for the evaluation efforts from which the current model evolved.

The initial problem was to reorganize the ethnolinguistic information already in existence into a relatively simple portrayal. Fortunately, the Alaska State Department of Education had already promulgated a basis for identifying pupils with limited English proficiency according to their home language and level of proficiency in that language. The following set of five categories resulted:

Category	**Definition**
A	Students who speak a language other than English exclusively
B	Students who speak mostly a language other than English, but also speak some English
C	Students who speak a language other than English and English with equal ease

Category	Definition
D	Students who speak mostly English but also speak a language other than English
E	Students who speak English exclusively but whose manner of speaking reflects the grammatical structure of another language. (State of Alaska, 4ACC 34.050)

Combined with the languages identified, the first two variables of the basic set are thus defined. The second two variables are a matter of school record.

At this point it is obvious that using the basic variable set, as shown in Table 1, provides incomplete information. In order for a clearer picture of the ethnolinguistic distribution of the district to emerge, some modification by recombining categories is needed. It was reasoned that variable II, *level of proficiency*, could be reduced from five categories to three without eroding good educational practice. Likewise, the number of grade distinctions was reduced from thirteen to four, once again on the assumption that for special language instruction certain grouping combinations were pedagogically reasonable.

Even with this modification there are 198 distinct ethnolinguistic subgroups in the district. The number of subgroups varies considerably from school to school, ranging from two up to twenty-four. The majority (80 percent) were "groups" of only one person, and over 95 percent were groups of three persons or fewer. Each group, by definition, would require separate, unique educational services some part of the day whether or not a commitment to bilingual bicultural education was made. It is little wonder that the district, without hesitation, opted immediately for an all-transitional strategy in order to meet the complexity of the situation. At the same time, the model can be seen as a useful method by which to investigate whether a totally transitional language program was the district's only feasible option.

Alaska statutes define a bilingual bicultural curriculum in part as:

> a program of instruction which makes use of a student's language other than English and cultural factors and maintains and develops the student's skills in that language and culture. Additionally, it introduces, develops and maintains all the necessary English skills for the student to function successfully in English. (State of Alaska, 4 AAC 34.065)

A transitional bilingual bicultural curriculum is defined, in part, as:

> a program of instruction which makes use of a student's language other than English and cultural factors in instruction only until the student is ready to participate effectively in the English language curriculum of the regular school program. Once this occurs, further instruction in the language other than English is discontinued. (State of Alaska, 4 AAC 34.065)

These two kinds of programs offer distinct courses of action, of which the district chose the latter. The school district's central administration chose exclusively transitional programs in light of two main factors: the large number of languages represented in the district (more than twenty), and the statutory option, quoted above, permitting transitional programs. Under the circumstances, it is neither surprising nor unreasonable for the district administration to have pursued a transitional program as the only feasible means of responding to the community's linguistic and cultural complexity. For the school district's administration, it was primarily a question of logistics rather than one of policy.

The point is argued here that on both counts, logistics and policy, the choice of a pantransitional approach may have been premature. In order to state the case for maintenance programs, in this or any other instance, it is necessary first to suggest some cumulative conditions under which a maintenance program would be indicated.

1. The student has functional communicative control over a language other than English.
2. There exists a language or cultural environment outside the school of sufficient size and social integrity to sustain, encourage, and otherwise reinforce the continued use of and growth in a particular non-English language.
3. The student has naturally occurring, frequent access to that community.
4. The district has access to personnel and material resources capable of reinforcing the use of and growth in a particular non-English language.
5. The student and parents expressly desire a maintenance program under conditions of actively informed consent.
6. The parents are willing to participate actively in the development and support of the school's program.

These are stringent conditions and, in my opinion, must all be met in order for a maintenance program to have a chance of success. The question now is whether there were any groups that appear to have met these conditions.

Further information is needed as to the organization of linguistic and cultural diversity in the district. Table 4 shows the language, proficiency level, and grade distribution of pupils eligible for participation in the district's bilingual bicultural programs. Using this modification of the basic model, the relative sizes of the various language groups can be estimated. In order to estimate which groups might

Table 4

Language Distribution by Grade and Level of Proficiency

Grade level	K–3					4–6					7–8					9–12					
Proficiency level	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	TOTAL
Language:																					
Aleut															1						1
Chinese																	2				2
Chippewa															1					1	2
Comanche										1											1
Cuyuga					1																1
French														1							1
German					2					2					2					1	7
Ingalik					1					1											2
Inupiaq					17			1	4	12			1	3	23				1	6	68
Japanese	[illegible]		3			1	1										1				8
Kiswahili																	1				1
Korean		3	3		6	1	4	1				2				1	1				22
Koyukon					4					7					5				2	5	23
Laotian	1					2			1												4
Navajo																1	1				2
Portuguese								1									1	1			3
Samoan							1										1				2
Spanish	1	8	5	12	6			4	4	4	1		1	1	1	1	2	6	1	1	59
Tanacross															1						1
Tanana				1	1					1					6					5	14
Thai					2							3									5
Tlingit					2					1											3
Vietnamese		1		1	2					2							1				7
Yupik					2										2						4
																					276

meet any of the conditions stated above, however, an additional analysis is needed that incorporates rational weighting procedures as outlined earlier in modification two, Table 3. The reasoning establishing the necessary weights is as follows: It makes a difference whether the student is in kindergarten and has a high level of non-English proficiency or whether the student is in high school with low non-English proficiency; the former student would be considered a more likely candidate for a maintenance program than the latter. If the two variables, grade and level of non-English proficiency, are weighted according to the likelihood of benefit from a maintenance program, the picture of which ethnolinguistic groups in the district are most viable changes somewhat.

A system of weights, shown in Table 5, was developed as an initial estimate of ethnolinguistic viability of the various groups. Each entry in Table 5 was obtained by multiplying its corresponding row and column weight values. For each ethnolinguistic group a score was derived by multiplying the number of children at each grade and proficiency level by the appropriate weights for those variables. The results for the seven groups highest in ethnolinguistic viability are shown in Table 6. As can be seen, the Spanish-speaking community is by far the best represented in the district. The second group, Inupiaq, is high in the ranking mostly by virtue of cultural integrity and numbers, not by language viability.

How this index is interpreted depends a great deal on the question being raised. If the issue is one solely of language maintenance, then the pupil must come into the program with functional command over a language to be maintained. If the issue is that of cultural maintenance, then certainly the situation presented by the various Alaska Native groups is of interest. The Native languages are seldom viable enough for maintenance purposes among the district's Alaska Native students. The district is indeed committed to a strong culture-enhancing program, given the special presence of representatives of Alaska's first peoples.

Nevertheless, in the present case study there appeared to be at least two, perhaps three, groups that met the first three conditions for instituting language maintenance programs listed earlier. The Spanish, Korean, and Japanese groups all had sufficient numbers, access, and viability to support language maintenance programs. Of these groups, however, only the Spanish-speaking community had enough personnel and material resources available in the district to meet condition number four. This same group may also have met condition number five, that a desire be expressed by the ethnolinguistic group in the community for maintenance programs. In the spring of 1980, after the institution of the transitional program, the bilingual

Table 5
Weighting System for Estimating Ethnolinguistic Viability

		Grade			
		K–3	4–6	7–8	9–12
	Weight values	4	3	2	1
Proficiency level					
A,B	3	12	9	6	3
C,D	2	8	6	4	2
E	1	4	3	2	1

Table 6
Weighted Composite Scores of Seven Most Viable Ethnolinguistic Groups

Grade level	K–3			4–6			7–9			10–12			
Proficiency level	A,B	C,D	E	A,B	C,D	E	A,B	C,D	E	A,B	C,D	E	
Weight	12	8	4	9	6	3	6	4	1	3	2	1	
Ethnolinguistic group:													Weighted score
Spanish	9	17	6		8	4	1	2	1	3	7	1	367
Inupiaq			17		5	12		4	23		1	6	181
Korean	3	3	6	5	1		2			2			153
Kutchin		2	14		1	4			7			5	102
Japanese	5			2						1			81
Koyukon			4			7			5		2	5	51
Tanana		1	1			1			6			5	26

bicultural director received the following petition with fifty-five signatures:

> We, the undersigned, members of the Spanish community, and parents of children attending Fairbanks schools, or who will be attending them in the near future, are concerned that our children not lose the rich heritage and language that is a part of their culture. We therefore petition the school department to make the study of the Spanish language and culture a part of the bilingual program offered to them in the schools.
>
> Thank you for your consideration.

This expression of concern can be interpreted clearly enough as a request for a maintenance program for the district to consider reevaluation of its earlier position on the issue. Whether the terms of condition six, active parent commitment, could be met would, of course, remain a matter of subsequent developments.

It can easily be seen that this issue must be argued from two standpoints: feasibility — whether it can be done — and desirability — whether anyone wants it done. From both standpoints the issue of maintenance versus transitional programs seems not only wide open, but subject to empirical means for part of its resolution as well. As long as the matter is perceived as one of mere logistics (feasibility), it can rightly be deemed an operational problem to be decided by the district administration. By any standard, however, the other aspect of the issue, desirability, is clearly a question of policy.

I am not necessarily endorsing maintenance programs unless they meet the conditions put forth earlier. I am endorsing complete and open dialogue for the purpose of evolving new policy to fit newly discovered circumstances. In this case no policy had been formulated previously because technically none was in order. The analysis presented in this section, however, shows the question to have been debatable from the very beginning, both on the grounds of feasibility and, most certainly, on the grounds of desirability. In short, to the extent the question of maintenance versus transition is a policy question, it should be treated as such under the existing conditions of ethnolinguistic complexity, not under conditions left to the imagination through lack of systematic means for their examination.

Conclusion

In conclusion, let me highlight three main features of the model that represent its potential contribution to bilingual bicultural education. The first is that the model accounts for all ethnolinguistic groups in a community in a single framework. This statement in no way implies that the model accounts for everything there is to know about all ethnolinguistic groups. Nor does it imply the absence of aspects of each ethnolinguistic group that are best treated as unique.

The implication is only that at some point, at some level, it is useful to get a perspective of ethnolinguistic complexity that represents its status as a single concept.

This unified framework is intended to do more than merely make the phenomenon more easily comprehended. As noted earlier, the continued development of bilingual bicultural education is impeded by anything that might fragment the effort into a long list of apparently competing entities, like random tiles rather than an organized cultural mosaic. To the extent that the present model helps us present the phenomenon as a single organized entity with many articulated but mutually supportive parts, bilingual bicultural education will become more understandable and, hence, more easily endorsed.

The second highlight of the model is that it treats the phenomena of language and schooling in their own terms, as naturally organized and mutually influential human systems. If changes in schooling are going to occur to the benefit of ethnolinguistic minorities, the way schooling is organized should be treated as a causal force to be manipulated advantageously, not one to be ignored.

The history of bilingual bicultural education in Alaska is instructive on this point. As elsewhere in the United States, the early development of bilingual education programs depended almost entirely on the timely, but by no means guaranteed, appearance of funding from sources external to the basic educational support of each local agency (Orvik, 1974). Let us consider the several adverse effects this extraordinary method of financing can have on a program. Each program becomes vulnerable to the prospect of its funds' being terminated at the end of each fiscal year. Significantly large amounts of staff time and energy must be devoted each year to writing new proposals for continuation. In addition to financial vulnerability, each program must operate under a cloud of psychological vulnerability stemming from its temporary status. Finally, and possibly most significant, continual relegation to external sources of insecure funding carries a message of implicit rejection: that bilingual bicultural education is not part of the "regular" program.

The present model is designed to have a regularizing influence insofar as it treats languages and schools as naturally occurring objects, events, and processes. Because they occupy the same space and time, to treat either as if it had a higher natural priority is a mistake. I am neither so naive nor so pretentious as to think this simple conceptualization has the potential for bringing about a sudden climate of positive mutual influence, but I do think it is a step toward becoming more sensitive to some real barriers to our progress.

The third and final feature of the model is its adaptability for use by many persons for many purposes. If the model is looked at as an instrument of social influence, its uses can be seen fairly easily. At the parental and neighborhood level, the model can be used to organize information for the purposes of claiming the need for more attentive service from the district. The need to be responsive to ethnicity and language, however, needs to be supported by facts translatable into real steps a district can take as alternatives to whatever guilt, confusion, and stubbornness it might otherwise exhibit.

At the school district level, the model can be an instrument for planning, operating, and evaluating bilingual bicultural education programs. While not offering a panacea for the problems attending these functions, the kind of thinking embodied in the model is an important step toward getting bilingual bicultural education smoothly into the normal life of schools. I contend that the future of bilingual bicultural education depends upon how normal and invisible it can be made within the day-by-day conduct of schooling.

At the state level, the model can provide information organized with enough continuity for meaningful longitudinal monitoring of the statewide progress of bilingual bicultural education programs. To the extent that state education agencies increasingly become the focus of funding decisions, it makes sense for those interested in bilingual bicultural education to locate themselves strategically as part of the funding infrastructure. Having a comprehensive information system of programs in place might help considerably.

To be sure, models to account for the distribution of ethnolinguistic minorities have been around for a long time and exist in many forms (e.g., Mackey, 1970; Giles, 1977). There is no one aspect of any model that commends itself as the ultimate in utility, including the present one. What I hope to have accomplished here is the demonstration of the usefulness of a particular method. More generally, I hope to have stimulated an active interest in a holistic view of bilingual bicultural education that keeps the doors to participation wide open to all.

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PART II

Technological Perspectives

A ciertas gentes les gusta hacer las cosas para las masas—y se les ve como todavía traen la masa en las manos....
C/S Don Octavio

CHAPTER 8

Individualized Bilingual Instruction: A Validated Program Model Effective with Both Spanish and Asian Language Students

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Introduction

Two miles north of the muddy Rio Grande River in southern Texas, a group of eager second grade children bend over workbooks while a young man, a former migrant farm worker, moves from one to the next explaining, checking work, and giving a pat of encouragement. At the same time, in Washington State, on the flat agricultural plains developed by irrigation waters from the Columbia River, a similar group of children is being taught by a gentle woman in her fifties. Always smiling, and a patient teacher, she will tell you that she grew up in a migrant family that worked the cotton fields in the Southwest, and that she had to leave school after the second grade to help care for her eleven brothers and sisters.

The children in both Texas and Washington are the sons and daughters of Spanish-speaking migrant farm workers, and they are enrolled in probably one of the most unusual bilingual education programs in the United States. The program is called Individualized Bilingual Instruction, usually shortened to IBI. The teachers are all former migrant workers. Many are the parents or relatives of children in the IBI classes.

In the IBI centers, chattering away, sometimes in Spanish and sometimes in English, are the three- to five-year-olds. These children are enrolled in full-day preschool programs paid for in Texas with Head Start funding provided through the Texas Migrant Council, and in Washington by state and federal day-care centers across the state.

About noon a group of kindergarten children arrives from the nearby school. They have lunch at the IBI preschool center, then bilingual lessons in the afternoon.

At some IBI centers, several teachers leave after lunch to go to the elementary school. Having taught preschool children in the morning, they now teach one or more groups of school-aged children who come to them on a released-time basis to work in a resource room provided at the school.

At other preschool centers school-aged children arrive in mid-afternoon. Some have been released from school early and others come in after school for an hour of bilingual instruction.

For some of the children from Texas who are enrolled in the IBI program, a "mobile component" is operated. When children leave Texas for the north, the teachers who are adults in the same families also move north. Temporary facilities are set up and the IBI program continues to operate in the schools and labor camps where the children have moved until the work is finished and the families all move back to Texas. Overall, about 20 percent of the children in the IBI program are enrolled in the mobile component, which provides continuing educational services to children in more than one location each year.

The IBI program operates in a number of different school districts in both Washington State and Texas. In all of these sites the staff are bilingual adults without college degrees who have been recruited from the same population as the children served and who have been trained to be bilingual teachers. They use an individualized curriculum that provides a sequence of lessons from preschool to third-grade level. There are lesson tracks to teach oral language skills and reading in both Spanish and English, and handwriting and math. There are placement tests to determine where a child should start in each curriculum track, but the lessons are otherwise ungraded.

A daily and weekly record is kept of the progress through each curriculum area for every child enrolled. When their education is interrupted, as it frequently is for migrant children, they can return and, with a brief review to see what they may have forgotten, continue in the curriculum where they left off.

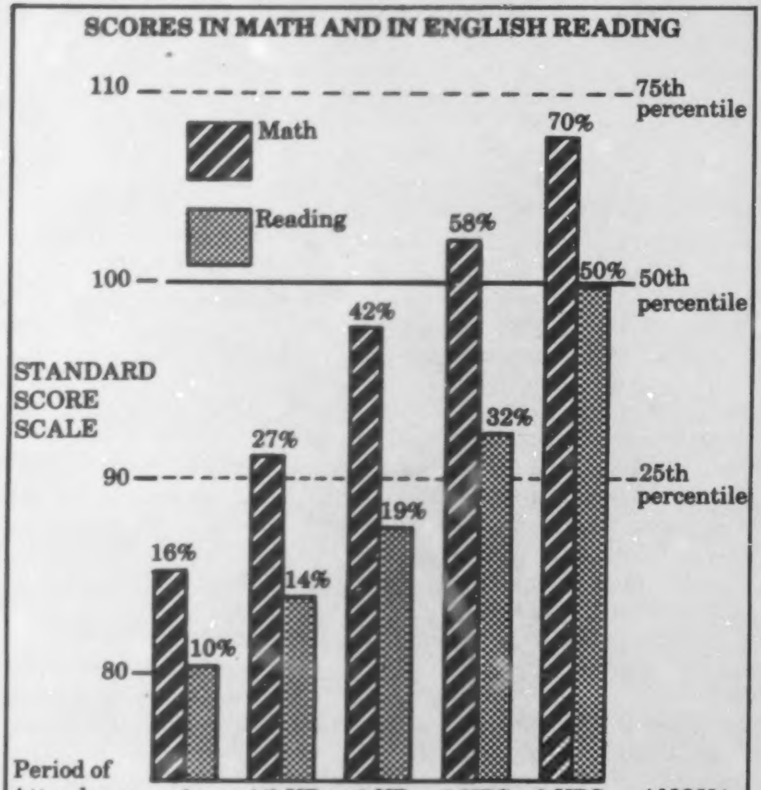
How Well Does the IBI Program Work?

The IBI program started in 1971, so it has now been in operation for more than a decade. The three figures that follow tell the story of the progress children have made in catching up with English-speaking U.S. school children at the same time they are becoming bilingual and biliterate.

Figure 1 shows the progress of IBI children in math and English reading. This is not the progress of just a few children but is based on 1,245 tests for IBI children over an eight-year period, 1974 through 1981. For all of the children in this analysis the initial primary language was Spanish. Since standard scores were used to allow analysis across age levels, it only includes children aged five years and over because standard scores are unavailable on this test under age five.

Figure 1 shows the average, or mean, score achieved by children at the time they started the IBI program. This is represented by the "0" attendance group. In math their scores averaged 85; a full standard deviation below the mean of the mainstream, majority culture, English-speaking children with whom the test was normed. This score represents the sixteenth percentile, meaning that only 16 percent of U.S. children would have scores this low or lower.

Children were tested again after 100 days of actual attendance, represented as one-half of a school year. Their average standard score



Period of Attendance	0	1/2 YR	1 YR	2 YRS	3 YRS	ANOVA
Mean Standard Score						d.f. 4,1240
MATH	85.3	90.7	97.0	102.5	107.5	F=123.284**
READING	80.9	84.1	87.2	92.9	99.6	F= 86.549**

*Numbers above columns are percentile equivalents by national norms.

**Significant at .001 level.

Figure 1. Mean standard scores in math and English reading on the Wide Range Achievement Test by period of attendance in Individualized Bilingual Instruction program.

NOTE: Based on 1,245 tests for children whose initial primary language was Spanish, over an eight-year period of program operation (1974–1981).

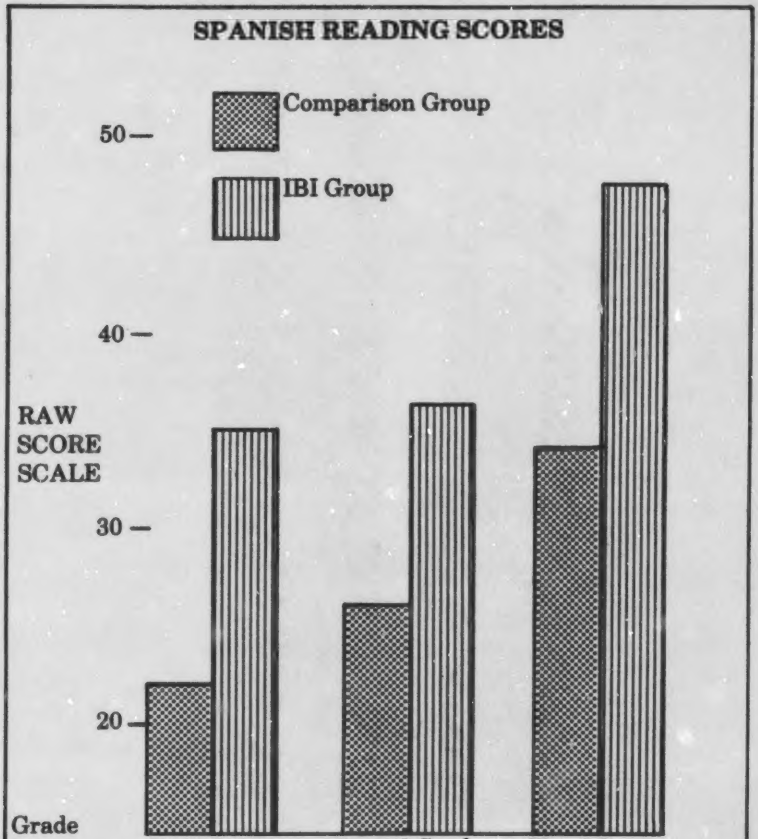
had jumped six points, and they were now at the twenty-seventh percentile. Because many migrant programs are able to serve children for only four or five months, this measuring of progress in one-half of the school year was done to see if the IBI model could produce significant gains in even that short time.

After one school year children had average math scores in a low normal range, at the forty-second percentile. After two school years, children who had received individualized bilingual instruction scored above national norms, and for those who continued in the IBI program for three or more years, the math scores exceeded those of 70 percent of the U.S. school children with whom the test was normed.

Figure 1 also shows the children's progress in English reading. Not surprisingly, these Spanish-speaking children entered the program with very limited ability to understand or read English. Only 9 percent of the U.S. school children tested for the norming group had scores as low as those of children who enrolled in the IBI program. Once again, each period of program attendance produced a significant gain in reading scores. The children who continued in the IBI program for three or more years had scores at the fiftieth percentile, meaning they were doing as well as fifty percent of the native English-speaking school children of comparable ages in the reading skills measured by this test.

Analysis of variance based on period of attendance in the IBI program shows a very significant effect on the scores for both tests. The gains also meet the standard of an "educationally significant" gain set by the U.S. Department of Education (Tallmadge, 1977, p. 34). This standard is that a gain of more than one-third standard deviation (in this case five points, since the standard scores are based on a standard deviation of fifteen) represents an educationally significant gain in a school year. This standard was met for each year of attendance in both subject areas.

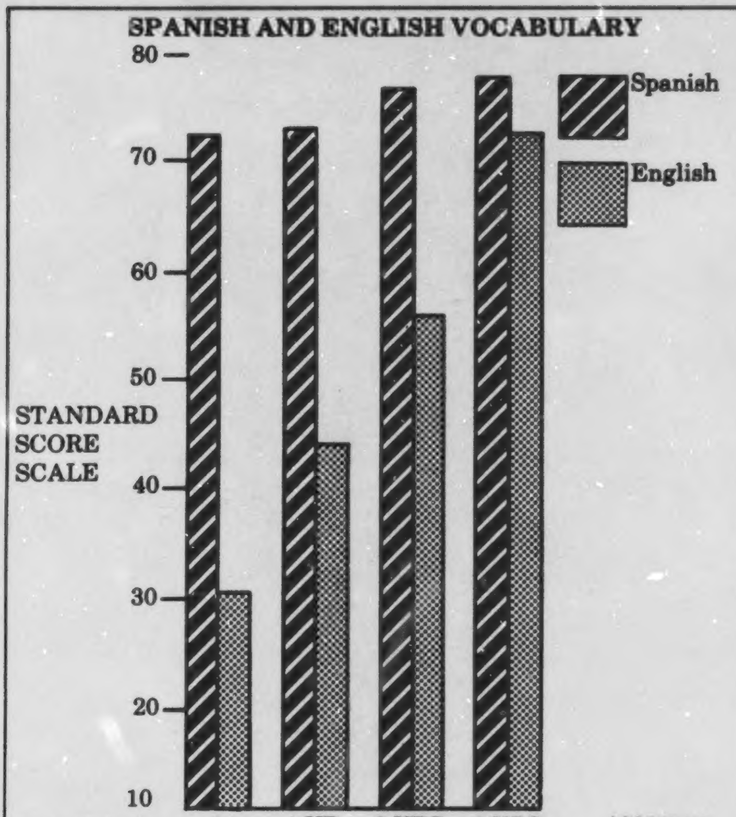
Children in the IBI program also learn to read in Spanish. Their Spanish reading scores as reported for the 1980-81 program year evaluation are shown in Figure 2. Since this test does not publish standard scores, the analysis that is reported uses raw scores and is shown for each grade level, first through third. The analysis is not based on period of attendance in the IBI program because Spanish reading is not started until children have attended the program long enough to have reached a certain level in the English reading curriculum. Therefore, there are not enough children tested at less than two years' attendance for statistical analysis at the lower attendance categories. The comparison group in Figure 2 are migrant children from a nearby school in southern Texas who are taught Spanish reading by traditional methods which involve primarily large group instruction.



Grade Level	First Grade		Second Grade		Third Grade	
Mean Raw Score	22.1	35.1	27.7	37.8	34.9	47.8
Number	15	42	15	30	17	32
t	4.26		3.33		3.29	
p	<.001		<.002		<.002	

Figure 2. Mean raw scores on *Prueba de Lectura,* Interamerican Series test of Spanish reading for a comparison group and for children receiving Individualized Bilingual Instruction program.

NOTE: Based on test scores from 1980–1981 program year final evaluation, using Level 1 for first-grade and Level 2 for second- and third-grade children.



Period of Attendance	0	1 YR	2 YRS	3 YRS	ANOVA*
Mean Standard Score					d.f. 4, 1240
Spanish	72.7	74.3	77.4	78.1	F = 5.4 p<.001
English	30.9	44.8	56.3	73.3	F = 104.7 p<.001

*Based on attendance groups.

Figure 3. Mean standard scores in Spanish and in English vocabulary on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test by period of attendance in the Individualized Bilingual Instruction program.

NOTE: Based on 1,245 tests given children whose primary initial language was Spanish, over an eight-year period of program operation, 1974–1981.

Figure 3 demonstrates the increasing bilingual skills of children in the IBI program based on parallel vocabulary tests in Spanish and English. Initially, IBI children have minimal vocabulary in English, most scoring in a range that could be achieved simply by guessing. Each school year of attendance in the IBI program produces a very large increase in the standard score in English. Because the children have started at such a low level of performance they gain almost one full standard deviation for each year of attendance. By three years' attendance their English vocabulary scores are almost equal to the level of their Spanish. And the Spanish scores have shown an increase for each year in the program, as well. The gains in both Spanish and in English based on length of attendance in the IBI program are statistically significant; the gains in English would also be considered educationally significant.

Does the IBI Program Work for Other Language Groups?

Since 1973, the federal government has examined evaluation results from educational programs and published a book each year entitled "Educational Programs That Work" (U.S. Department of Education, 1981). Such programs are called "validated" in that their claims that they have helped children achieve significant academic progress have been reexamined and validated by a panel of experts. Some of these programs, of which IBI is one, have been given grants to allow them to help other school districts implement all or parts of the program model. Over thirty school districts in eight states have now adopted components of the IBI program.

There are no validated bilingual programs at this time that were initially developed with Asian language school children in the United States. But several schools have adopted one or more components of the IBI program to use with children speaking a variety of Asian languages. The teachers employed have been bilingual adults who are able to use the native language to explain unfamiliar words or concepts in a curriculum presented in English. But these are not full bilingual programs in that only the English language components for oral language, reading, math, or handwriting are being used, and speech and reading in the native language are not being developed.

However, the method of instruction used in IBI does appear to be very effective in increasing children's English skills. The teaching in small groups is language intensive; children must respond in either English or their native language so the teacher can tell if they comprehend what is being taught. The test data in Figure 4 come from an adoption site using the IBI program with refugee children from Vietnam. The oral language curriculum in English was adopted, and the handwriting curriculum was used to help them with western orthography and spelling skills. As shown in Figure 4, the gains in English

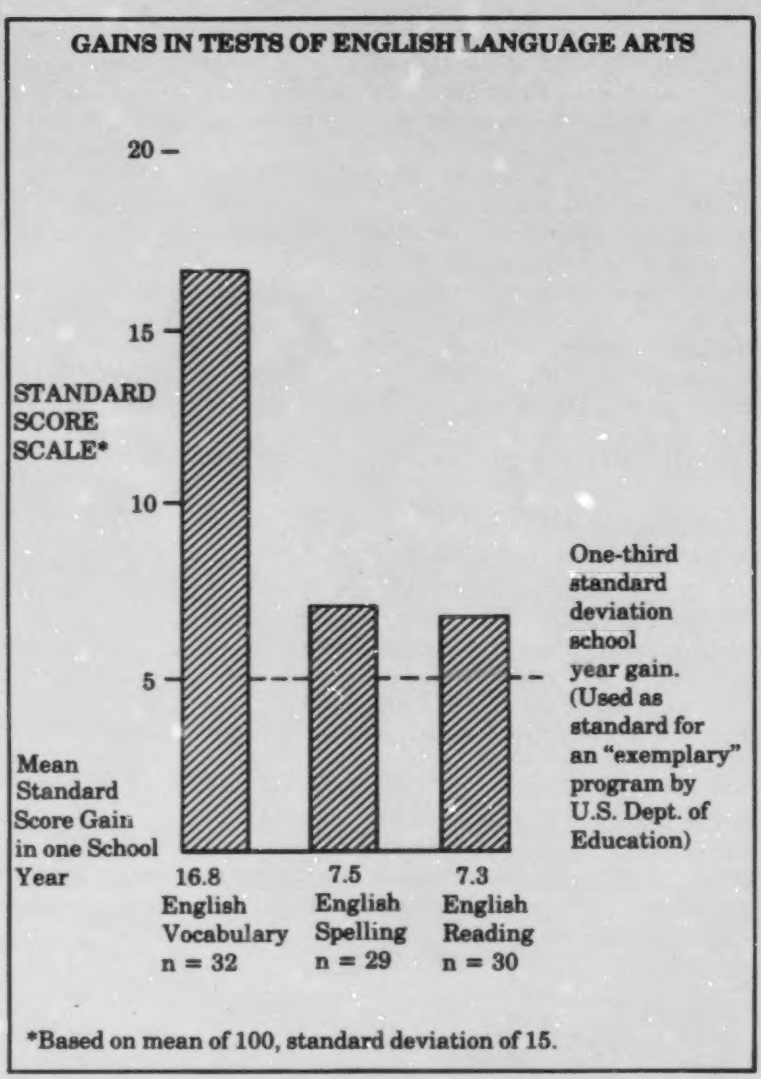


Figure 4. Mean gain score of children speaking Asian languages, primarily Vietnamese and Cantonese, using English-language components of the IBI program.

NOTE: Based on June 1981 evaluation of IBI program adoption at Mercer Island, Washington. English vocabulary on Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, spelling, and reading scores on Wide Range Achievement Test.

vocabulary match the kind of gains children in the IBI program are making after an attendance period of one school year. The gains in spelling and in reading in English also exceed the standard of one-third standard deviation gain at a measure of an educationally significant gain by an "exemplary" program.

Is the IBI Program Model Expensive?

The cost of curriculum, training, and support staff necessary to implement the total IBI program adds about $600 per year to the cost of a basic day-care program for preschool children; and the one hour of daily supplemental instruction for school-aged children costs about $200 per school year. The preschool children receive an educational program lasting two-and-a-half hours a day; short periods of structured lessons followed by periods of informal child choice activities appropriate for this age group.

In one of the school districts served by the IBI mobile component, a few years ago it was routine procedure to have all Spanish-speaking children repeat the first grade — the first time through to learn English and the next time to learn first grade academic subjects. The average cost per student for one year of school in this district is now $1,800. On this basis the cost of one child's repeating one grade would finance three children in the preschool IBI program and nine children in the IBI school-age program.

The cost to children in terms of the discouragement at being failed a grade in school, the drop-out rates that are always much higher for "overaged" children, are other costs that must be considered in looking at the old system used to integrate Spanish-speaking children into an English-speaking educational program. Let us compare this with the documented effectiveness of the IBI program. Through bilingual education, the sons and daughters of migrant farm workers can become bilingual and biliterate, and bring their academic test scores up to or above the national average of native English-speaking children from the majority culture. And it is important to add that they can do this by turning to a readily available teaching resource — bilingual adults from the same population as the children who are served.

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CHAPTER 9

The Status of Mathematics Instruction in Spanish for Selected Elementary School Districts in Texas

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Background

Historically, Spanish-language-dominant children have had difficulty in acquiring academic success in the traditional U.S. school. The *1980 Census of Population of the United States* reports that 14,605,883 people of Spanish origin reside in the United States, and represent the second largest minority, most of them Mexican American. Also, this group was reported as one of the fastest growing groups because of a high birth rate and immigration. Sixty percent, or 8,785,717, of this population inhabited the five southwestern states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas, with 52 percent, or 7,529,413, of them living in California and Texas.[1]

Although education is compulsory in the United States until the ages of fourteen to sixteen, a 1967 report from the Department of Agriculture showed that 10.4 percent of Mexican American students dropped out of school before they reached the age of sixteen.[2] Andersson and Boyer reported in 1970 that 75 percent of the Mexican American children were in school. However, only one-third were in high school. At that time, one-half of the Mexican American school population was in the first three grades. Furthermore, 55 percent of the pupils beyond first grade were two years behind their grade level. In all age categories, the statistics for the Mexican American in Texas showed the highest percentage of attrition.[3] A 1978-79 publication by the Census Bureau reported that the median number of years of schooling completed by persons twenty-five years of age and over in Texas was 12.4. When the data were organized by ethnic groups, the results showed that the median number of years of schooling were 12.5 for Whites, 12.0 for Blacks, and 8.0 for persons of Spanish origin.[4]

There are many possible causative factors for the educational failure of Mexican Americans in the public schools. Some of the most important factors have been:

> . . . (1) a long history of indifference toward the educational needs of the Mexican American on the part of the dominant Anglo society; (2) social factors attendant upon linguistic and cultural differences; (3) the "melting pot" theory that pervaded American education for so many years; and (4) the inadequacy of teachers, of curriculum, and of facilities in the schools.[5]

With this background about some of the problems in the education of the Mexican American, it would seem appropriate to examine a possible solution.

In accordance with many studies[6] the concept of teaching limited English-speaking-ability (LESA) children in their mother tongue was the primary focus. Quoting from the UNESCO study of 1953, "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is in [his or her] mother tongue."[7] Willink, in discussing the relationship between language development and thought development, writes:

> Language development, and particularly mother tongue development where the mother tongue is the child's dominant language when [he or she] comes to school, is extremely important for thought development and thought development is what education is about. Once the child has better learned how to think and thereby how to learn, [he or she] is better equipped to learn anything [he or she] may need to learn — including [his or her] second language, English.[8]

Researching further into the teaching of LESA or limited-English-proficient (LEP) children, one would find that experts in the field concur that teaching children their native tongue along with English as a second language (ESL) is the most productive methodology for the children and their teachers.[9]

Statement of the Problem

Spanish-dominant children's ability for acquiring mathematical concepts is diminished by instruction in their second language, English. Therefore, in order to enhance the children's conceptual knowledge of mathematics, instruction should be in their dominant language, Spanish.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to determine the status of mathematics instruction in Spanish for selected elementary school districts in Texas.

Delimitations

This study was delimited to selected elementary school mathematics programs funded under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968 (ESEA), Title VII, grades K-6 in Texas, with a concentration in the Greater South Texas Cultural Basin. The study was further delimited to those programs in operation two or more academic years that had included a Spanish mathematics component for a minimum of one academic year prior to the study. The data were generated during the 1979-80 public school year.

Hypotheses:

H_1 More than 50 percent of school districts in Texas that operate bilingual programs funded under ESEA, Title VII, have a Spanish mathematics component in their proposals.

H_2 More than 50 percent of teachers in the Title VII-funded programs are not trained to teach mathematics in Spanish.

H_3 More than 50 percent of training programs funded under Title VII, whether Institutions of Higher Education (IHEs), Bilingual Education Service Centers (BESCs), or other training institutions, lack sufficient personnel with expertise in teaching mathematics in Spanish.

H_4 More than 50 percent of public school administrators directing Title VII programs, do not give as much priority to the mathematics component as they do to their language development, reading, and English as a second language components.

H_{4a} There is no difference between the administrator's priorities given to mathematics and language development.

H_{4b} There is no difference between the administrator's priorities given to mathematics and reading.

H_{4c} There is no difference between the administrator's priorities given to mathematics and English as a second language.

H_5 More than 50 percent of public school elementary school teachers employed with Title VII funds do not give as much priority to their mathematics component as they do to their language development, reading, and English as a second language components.

H_{5a} There is no difference between the teacher's priorities given to mathematics and language development.

H_{5b} There is no difference between the teacher's priorities given to mathematics and reading.

H_{5c} There is no difference between the teacher's priorities given to mathematics and English as a second language.

H_{5d} There is no statistically significant difference between time spent and importance given within each of the instructional components of language development and reading in English and Spanish, English as a second language, and mathematics in English and Spanish.

H_6 More than 50 percent of public school elementary teachers employed with Title VII funds do not rate themselves as high on the teaching of mathematics in Spanish as they do on teaching language development, reading in English and Spanish, and English as a second language collectively.

H_{6a} There is no difference between the ratings teachers give themselves in teaching mathematics in Spanish and language development in English and Spanish.

H_{6b} There is no difference between the ratings teachers give themselves in teaching mathematics in Spanish and reading in English and Spanish.

H_{6c} There is no difference between the ratings teachers give themselves in teaching mathematics in Spanish and English as a second language.

Significance of the Study

The study was to provide a statistical analysis of the status of Spanish mathematics components in ESEA, Title VII-funded programs in Texas elementary schools. The results of the study should cause: (1) local education agency (LEA) program administrators to evaluate their component priorities so that mathematics instruction in Spanish receives appropriate consideration as a basic component of the total Title VII program; (2) LEA program administrators to evaluate their teachers' competencies in the area of teaching mathematics in Spanish; (3) LEA program teachers to request training in teaching mathematics in Spanish; and (4) IHE teacher training personnel to establish courses or programs which include mathematics methods courses taught in Spanish.

Procedure and Treatment of Data

For the purpose of this study, the following procedures and treatment of data were implemented:

1. Selected literature was reviewed.
2. Meetings were held and support for the study was obtained from Title VII program directors.
3. Hypotheses were reviewed for refinement.
4. A research design for gathering the data was developed.
5. A review of the Title VII proposals for the 1979-80 school year determined those districts which met the requirements of the delimitations.
6. Title VII programs in Texas were selected for gathering data.

7. Three questionnaires were developed, one each for:
   a. Title VII program directors
   b. Title VII program teachers
   c. Institutions that are responsible for training teachers for Title VII programs.
8. The questionnaires were reviewed by experts.
9. The recommendations were reviewed and the questionnaires were revised.
10. The questionnaires were mailed to all prospective respondents.
11. A follow-up questionnaire was mailed to those persons who had not responded within a reasonable amount of time.
12. Data were tabulated and analyzed.
13. Summary, conclusions, and recommendations were formulated.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms were defined:

1. **English as a second language (ESL).** English as a second language is one of the components of ESEA, Title VII programs in which children whose first language is other than English are taught the English language.
2. **Limited English proficiency (LEP).** Limited English proficiency, with reference to an individual, means an individual—
   (1) (i) Who was not born in the United States and whose native language is other than English;
   (ii) Who was born in the United States but who comes from a home in which a language other than English is most relied upon for communication; or
   (iii) Who is an American Indian or Native Alaskan student and comes from an environment in which a language other than English has had a significant impact on his or her level of English language proficiency; and
   (2) Who, as a result of (1), has sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language to deny him or her the opportunity to learn successfully in classrooms in which the language of instruction is English.[10]
3. **Limited English-speaking ability (LESA).** Limited English-speaking ability "... refers to an individual or individuals who have difficulty speaking and understanding instruction in the English language...."[11] It also refers to "...persons

who trace their lineage to Hispanic or Indo-Hispanic forebears who resided within Spanish or Mexican territory that is now part of the Southwestern United States."[12]

4. **Mother tongue.** Mother tongue is the language that the child learns at home before he or she begins school, most often the language of his or her parents and grandparents.
5. **Native language.** For the purpose of this study *native language* will be used interchangeably with *mother tongue*.
6. **Spanish-dominant child.** A Spanish-dominant child is one who has been tested by language assessment instruments and found to be more limited in English than in Spanish.
7. **Mathematics instruction in Spanish.** Spanish mathematics instruction is the same as regular mathematics instruction in scope and sequence, but there are two basic differences: it is taught in Spanish and, whenever possible, problem-solving situations are drawn from the child's home culture.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to determine the status of mathematics instruction in Spanish for selected elementary school districts in Texas. A school district was selected for this study if it met all of the following selection criteria:

1. Was ESEA, Title VII funded for at least two years prior to the 1979-80 school year.
2. Operated a Spanish mathematics component in the ESEA, Title VII program for at least one year prior to the 1979-80 school year.
3. Returned answered questionnaires from the Title VII director and at least four teachers currently teaching in the program. Surveys of Title VII directors whose teachers did not respond were delimited.

All teacher training personnel surveys were used.

The review of selected literature was subdivided into four categories: (1) Rationale for Bilingual Education; (2) Effectiveness of Bilingual Education; (3) The Content Areas in Bilingual Education; and (4) Bilingual Mathematics Training for Teachers. This literature review supports the effectiveness of teaching mathematics in Spanish for children whose first language is Spanish, and substantiates the fact that elementary teachers should receive additional training in the teaching of mathematics. The need for special training of teachers to teach mathematics in Spanish is also documented.

Beyond conceptual and methodological training, bilingual mathematics teachers should be trained to: (1) teach the concepts in the children's native language, (2) use culturally relevant material, and (3) become cognizant of the children's preferences of learning style.

The hypotheses were formulated to answer the following questions:

1. Do most ESEA, Title VII programs include the teaching of mathematics in Spanish as one of their instructional components?
2. Are Title VII program teachers trained to teach mathematics in Spanish?
3. Do training institutions have a person who trains teachers to teach mathematics in Spanish?
4. Do Title VII program directors afford the teaching of mathematics the same priority as the teaching of language development, reading, and English as a second language?
5. Do Title VII program teachers afford the teaching of mathematics the same priority as the teaching of language development, reading, and English as a second language?
6. How do Title VII program teachers rate their ability to teach mathematics in Spanish in comparison with their ability to teach language development and reading in English, Spanish, and English as a second language?

Questionnaires were developed that would retrieve data pertinent to these questions. They were mailed and returned to the researchers. The data were tabulated or computed, depending on the type of analysis that was required.

Conclusions

The analysis of the data resulted in the following conclusions:

1. An overwhelming majority (98 percent) of the ESEA, Title VII Basic Program proposals reviewed for the 1979-80 school year have instructional components specifying that mathematics will be taught in the program.
2. A high majority (84 percent) of these Title VII proposals specifically state that mathematics would be taught in Spanish.
3. About one-half (48 percent) of the Title VII directors report that their Title VII teachers have been trained in the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.
4. About one-half (48 percent) of the Title VII teachers state that they have been trained in the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.

5. A majority (68 percent) of the teacher-training institution personnel report that teachers in their service area lack training in the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.
6. About one-half (56 percent) of the teacher-training institutions (education service centers, universities, and other personnel) report that a specialist in training teachers to teach mathematics in Spanish was employed at their institution or agency.
7. A very high majority (89 percent) of the Title VII directors assign a lesser priority to the teaching of mathematics than to any one or any combination of: (a) language development, (b) reading, and (c) English as a second language.
8. A majority (67 percent) of Title VII school districts whose teachers responded state that they spend more time on language development and a few more (74 percent) state that it is more important than mathematics.
9. A very high majority (91 percent) of Title VII school districts whose teachers responded state that they spend more time on reading and the same number (91 percent) of the teachers stated that it is more important than mathematics.
10. Less than a majority (30 percent) of Title VII school districts whose teachers responded report that they spend more time on English as a second language but about half (52 percent) of them state that it is more important than mathematics.
11. A majority (73 percent) of the school districts' teacher responses show that there exists a significant correlation between time spent and importance in the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.
12. A majority of Title VII school districts whose teachers responded report that their teachers rated themselves higher in their ability to teach language development in English (96 percent) and Spanish (70 percent), reading in English (91 percent) and Spanish (74 percent), and English as a second language (52 percent) than mathematics in Spanish.

Recommendations

Based on the review of the selected literature, the analysis of the data, and the resulting conclusions, the following recommendations were formulated:

1. The teaching of mathematics in the child's first language should be included in all bilingual programs.

2. There should be a reevaluation of teachers' instructional priorities so that mathematics in Spanish receives equitable consideration.
3. There should be specific training for bilingual program teachers in the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.
4. There should be a minimum of one professional course focusing on the study and practice of teaching mathematics in the bilingual child's first language and culture.
5. Further research should be undertaken in the following areas:
   a. Administrators' and teachers' attitudes toward the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.
   b. Teacher-training programs with reference to process and product evaluation of teacher competencies in the teaching of mathematics in Spanish.

Notes

1. U.S., Department of Commerce, *1980 Census of Population Summary Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), p. 5.
2. U.S., Department of Agriculture, *Report of the Secretary of Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 98.
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CHAPTER 10

Integrating Oral History into Bilingual Social Studies: A Strategy that Works

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Mehaffy and Sitton write that "as a general scholarly phenomenon, oral history is expanding the limits of our historical knowledge, particularly in the realm of social history" (Mehaffy and Sitton, 1977, p. 378). As an anecdotal form, oral history has been in existence as long as history itself. However, as a viable and frequently used instructional strategy, oral history methodology is relatively new and often not clearly understood.

Oral history, in its most basic form, is simply one of the methods of collecting and recording living people's recollections of the past. A review of the literature indicates that these contemplations are in most cases collected for historical purposes.

For the bilingual educator — whether an elementary, middle school, or high school teacher — care must be taken not to mislabel oral history as a subject or to confuse this method with subjects such as family, local, and economic histories. It is important to understand, however, that these subjects do go well with the method. The major premise remains that oral history is but one of several methods of examining history, yet the powerful implications it holds as a tool of instruction within the bilingual classroom are indeed noteworthy. It is an exciting teaching strategy which can develop a variety of skills and competencies in learners and a refreshing approach to not only bilingual social studies but language arts and other subject areas, as well.

Oral history is collected through tape-recorded interviews. The basic tools are a cassette recorder and tapes, which require a minimum investment or none at all since most schools and many students have access to this equipment. Teachers must be aware that the interviews consist of planned questions and are not merely recordings of random conversation (Baum, 1975).

A listing of current oral history projects throughout the United States is indeed substantial. Following are descriptions of several projects and the geographic areas in which they have taken place:

1. In Española, New Mexico, Edward Atencio has been collecting folklore for almost twenty years. Every year his junior high school classes undertake a different project using oral history techniques to enhance the project, such as studying folk medicine and its cultural implications in various northern New Mexican communities. Not only do interviews take place with family or community members, but medicinal herbs are collected, labeled, classified, and displayed, also.

2. In El Paso, Texas, Oscar Martínez has long been involved in interviewing residents of El Paso and Cuidad Juarez, Mexico. The material collected will be published in a book examining the border history of this unique geographic area.
3. Nancy Whistler, project director for the Colorado Center for Oral History, has compiled a listing and description of 110 projects in Colorado. Tapes of each interview can be found in the Denver Public Library and provide a rich and colorful insight into Colorado history.
4. The most successful and widely recognized of all oral history projects remains the Foxfire Program at Rabun Gap, Georgia. The Foxfire projects have been published and widely disseminated. Moreover, they have been instrumental in lending credence to the notion that oral history can be successful at the junior high and high school level.

Oral History and Bilingual Social Studies: A Rationale

The curriculum reform projects of the 1950s, much written about, were notable in that they placed much emphasis on "understanding the structure of the disciplines — basic organizing concepts and their relations to each other" (Kniker and Naylor, 1981, p. 268). One result of the projects has been a more concise definition and pragmatic orientation toward the teaching modes of inquiry, discovery, and inductive reasoning. Not only the "new social studies" but also the "new science, new math, and new language arts" have emphasized the mastery of involving students in learning.

As Bruner (1960) relates in discussing these instructional techniques, the goal is to have students experience rather than merely memorize facts about the subject. In view of the fact that oral history actively involves students in various learning situations, this methodology reinforces the concept of process.

Another advantage of actively involving students in learning has its basis in socialization. Through oral history, students and teachers work jointly but most important, students begin to develop social skills. These skills are acquired and developed as the students go out into their various communities and learn to interview people.

Other skills are acquired through oral history, such as listening. "In taping their interviews the students begin to relate themselves to the subject that they are studying, they begin to learn how to listen to people, and so on" (Baum, 1975, p. 2).

Additional skills that are developed are rooted in language and language acquisition. By interacting with interviewees and consequently listening, editing, and transcribing the results, the students are exposed to different terminology, dialects, and modes of expression. This is an excellent way of expanding a learner's basic stock of vocabulary. Furthermore, the same excitement generated as a result of discovering historical information through oral history techniques can carry over to language and language learning. In this regard, students search out meanings and understandings to the terminology, phrases, and dialects they have been exposed to.

The most compelling rationale for integrating oral history techniques into bilingual social studies centers is the fact that, generally, oral history has remained virtually isolated from most bilingual elementary classrooms. Banks advocates an interdisciplinary-conceptual approach to the study of social science-related concepts by "examining the expressions of ethnic cultures in literature, music, drama, dance, art, communications, and foods" (Banks, 1979, p. 32). Once again, the use of oral history methodology surfaces as an alternative approach to examining the broad realm of social sciences from a first-hand perspective.

Because the United States is composed of multiethnic populations, oral history can be used effectively to teach students that all cultures are important while focusing on significant aspects or contributions. Wigginton has successfully demonstrated this very notion in his book *I Wish I Could Give My Son a Wild Raccoon* (1976), which contains interviews with forty individuals from different ethnic groups and from different states. The underlying theme focuses on the concept that all people are unique, all are different, and all are important and vital.

> Despite the culture, despite the personality behind the voice, despite the diverse problems that surround us and compete for our energy, and despite the sometimes awful experiences the speakers have had — and in some cases are still going through — there are definite common threads that unite us into a universal human family. (Wigginton, 1976, p. 14)

All of the skills mentioned could be cited as advantages for employing oral history as a teaching tool. The major advantage that the research indicates is that the results of such programs are tangible. No longer do history, geography, and economics have to be boring. From these projects the students realize that their work has not been in vain. The results are there in the form of the knowledge acquired, in the process of acquiring the knowledge, or in a document that can be used at any time for various purposes.

Oral History Activities

A principle of curriculum development calls for the cooperative and reflective identification of students' educational needs. Similarly, the selection of oral history activities must involve cooperation between students and teacher and should, in part, be based on students' felt or expressed needs. This paper outlines only a few suggested activities or projects; however, it should be remembered that this area is a vast one. Most important, selected activities will be more appropriate when correlated to students' everyday lives.

The initial activities should start out as small projects designed for the learners to develop a feel for the oral history process and to achieve some measure of success. Selection of appropriate activities allows teacher and students to be creative as they move from small projects to more complex ones "that cross disciplinary lines and deeply involve large segments of the school in research within the local community" (Mehaffy and Sitton, 1977, p. 380).

The following suggestions are modified versions of ideas presented schematically by Mehaffy and Sitton (1977). When appropriate, specific reference to bilingual or multicultural topics or concepts are presented.

1. The teacher must become familiar with oral history techniques. This can be accomplished in part by reading such materials as *Hard Times* (book and record, Terkel, 1970), the *Foxfire* series (Wigginton, 1972 and 1973), *Teaching Local History: Trends, Tips, and Resources* (Metcalf and Downey, 1977), and other references by oral historians. Upon reading some of this background material, the teacher should obtain a cassette recorder and begin self-training in the techniques or strategies of oral history. This self-training should culminate in proceeding through interviewing, transcribing, and editing. A good reference to use during the self-training process is *Oral History for the Local Historical Society* (Baum, 1975).
2. The bilingual teacher can begin to conduct interviews with local citizens within their community and take two or three students along, so that all members are involved in the learning process. The teacher and students can in turn help teach oral history techniques and strategies to the remaining class members using a peer teaching approach.
3. As a part of individualizing instruction, the bilingual teacher can develop specific learning centers designed to provide learners with an opportunity to practice and refine interviewing skills.
4. The students can interview different family members and gear their interviews toward various themes, such as immigration, religious attitudes, genealogy, musicology, and others. A major objective of this activity can be to stress the importance of certain values—for example, the concept of the family. Meanwhile, students would also be obtaining information about historical events.

5. A most interesting type of activity can evolve around interviewing community members, especially elders, with the intention of collecting folklore. Bilingual communities are rich in folklore and this form of cultural journalism abounds in most communities, regardless of size. This folklore can then be transcribed, edited, and published in newspaper or book form. In Canutillo, Texas, a class project in an elementary school composed primarily of bilingual students collected *cuentos* (short stories), *adivinanzas* (riddles), and *dichos* (proverbs) and published them in a newsletter.
6. The students can develop oral history projects that would be part of a total social history of the community. This community history project would be larger in scope than the other activities listed, encompassing such areas as education, economics, family histories, social problems, religion, and even entertainment. This is the type of activity that can involve other classes such as journalism, typing, geography, and art (photography); different segments of this project can be assigned to different students. The project can result in a comprehensive overview of that particular community.

What should be done with this amassed information? Baum suggests that "there should always be some sort of planned finale—a little publication of excerpts, an exhibit or multimedia presentation for the local historical society, a party with the narrators as guests" (1975, p. 3).

As previously mentioned, the possibilities and varieties of projects and activities are certainly abundant. The potential for such projects is enormous, and the interest and enthusiasm generated by such an endeavor can be overwhelming. As a consequence, many students become involved in the mastery of process.

The key lies in the process itself. Oral history is an active method. It constantly involves interaction, thinking, doing, inquiring, organizing, synthesizing, and analyzing. At a time when bilingual multicultural education teachers are seeking instructional strategies that actively involve learners in the process of research yet correlate strongly to children's everyday lives and experiences, oral history stands out as one strategy that works.

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CHAPTER 11

Journal of a Ten-year-old Second Language Learner

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Introduction

In this study, a child recorded his second language learning experiences in a daily journal for six weeks. This linguistic diary served as a research instrument that provided insights into the child's attitudes toward the language learning experience and into his awareness of his own language learning style.

This paper first explains the objectives of the study and the procedures used. A narrative description of the language learning experience is provided by the subject, followed by an evaluation of the research methodology and an analysis of the data obtained in the journal. Finally, applications of journal keeping for parents and teachers of children learning a second language and for the children themselves are suggested.

The subject of the study, Alain, is a native speaker of English, as is his mother, the researcher. Although his father is a native speaker of French, the language of family communication is English. Alain had developed some basic proficiency in French prior to this study through brief family visits to Switzerland, two one-week immersion experiences in a Swiss ski camp, and private French lessons in first and second grade. At the time of the study, he was ten years old and had completed fourth grade in the United States. A summer visit to his Belgian aunt, uncle, and cousins was arranged for the purpose of strengthening family ties and improving his French proficiency. After six weeks immersed in a French-speaking environment, his fluency had improved to the point where he could engage in spirited conversations with French speakers without showing any of his previous reluctance or shyness. Although his grammatical accuracy was still far from perfect, he had developed his vocabulary and communicative strategies considerably, and his pronunciation was considered to be excellent by his French-speaking relatives. Dramatic gains in language proficiency during an environmental immersion experience is not unusual, and has been described in other studies (Savignon, 1974; Celce-Murcia, 1977; Ervin-Tripp, 1978; Chun, 1979; Lightbrown, 1979).

However, the attitudes and inner feelings of children undergoing such experiences have not been fully documented or applied in determining which aspects of immersion are most beneficial and which can induce anxiety. Children's points of view and insights into their own language learning experiences can be a source of valuable information for teachers, parents, curriculum designers, and materials developers. Discovering nuances of children's opinions and feelings is not easy; many children are not very articulate in expressing differentiations beyond liking or disliking something.

Student diaries have been used by teachers at various levels in order to encourage students to develop their written expression, and attitudinal and motivational benefits have been attributed to such diaries (Colt and Connelly, 1981; Highnam and Geist, 1981). Focusing on a specific area of experience such as second language learning is but an elaboration of this type of activity.

Linguistic diaries kept by adult second language learners have provided information about interactions between the learner and the environment, teaching methodology, and cultural aspects. Diaries kept by Schumann and Schumann (1977) and Schumann (1980) during language learning experiences in Tunisia and Iran indicate that environmental factors have a strong influence on the learning process. Physical living conditions, instructional techniques and materials, personal learning style and motivations, and relationships with both English speakers and target language speakers have been found to have profound effects on individual language learners.

Another adult linguistic journal was kept by Rivers (1981) during an immersion experience in South America. Daily entries show many similarities to other journals, including the one kept in the present study, in the importance the learner attaches to environmental factors, interaction with speakers of the new language, and attitudes not only toward the language and culture but also toward oneself as a language learner.

Although a child's second language diary cannot be expected to reflect the linguistic sophistication and psychological maturity of an adult's, the present study does indicate that a child is quite capable of expressing insights and feelings about the new language and the learning process.

Objectives and Procedures

The objectives of the researcher and of the subject in this study were not identical:

Researcher	Subject
1. To pilot test a procedure that could be used with other children learning a second language.	1. To write something for publication.
2. To increase Alain's understanding of his own language learning style.	2. To provide reference and research material for other people.
3. To develop Alain's French proficiency through his	3. To complete a difficult challenge.
	4. To help me learn more French.

active participation in and reflection on the learning process.

5. To impress my cousins and please my parents.

Except for the mutually agreed objectives of increasing Alain's French proficiency and participating in a research project, researcher and subject had different agendas. On the other hand, Alain's objectives do reflect the real motivations, perhaps, of most adult researchers!

The methodology used was based on the work of Schumann and Schumann (1977), with additional suggestions from Schumann (1981). The procedures were kept as simple as possible because subject and researcher were to be separated during the period of the immersion experience. The intent was to make keeping a journal as easy as possible for Alain so that he would be encouraged to make daily entries (in fact, only one day did not have a journal entry). Extensive and unstructured writing was rejected because, in common with many children his age, Alain found the physical aspect of writing tedious. Instead, he was provided with a series of questions inside the front cover of his journal notebook, and was instructed to write brief answers to as many questions as possible each day. These were to be numbered according to the question being answered, and complete sentences were not called for. He was told that handwriting, spelling, punctuation, and grammar were not important, and that he would have an opportunity to edit his journal later and to share only those portions that he wished. Each page in the journal notebook was predated so that he would be reminded that something had to be written each day. On some pages personal notes were written, such as "One month in Belgium already!" "*Please write your parents!*" "Happy Fourth of July!" (He generally wrote comments on these notes.)

Developing the questions for the inside cover of the journal notebook was not easy. They had to be written clearly enough for Alain to understand what kind of information was being requested, and they had to elicit useful information about his language learning experiences. The questions finally developed in consultation with Alain appear in Table 1. As will be discussed, some questions were more effective than others in producing informative responses.

Table 1

Linguistic Journal

Answer as many of the following questions as you can *each day*. You do not have to copy the question. Just write its number and your answer. Don't worry about spelling, grammar, punctuation, or style. The most important thing is *information*.

Questions about Listening

1. Describe a conversation you listened to and say what it was about.
2. Describe a situation when you couldn't figure out what was being said.
3. What is easy to understand and what is difficult? (For instance, kids, adults, TV or radio, people you know, people you don't know, conversations about something that's happening right now, conversations about past or future events.)

Questions about Talking and Reading

4. Tell about a successful conversation you had. Tell what was talked about, who was talking, and the place where it happened.
5. Write all the new words and expressions you learned to say today. Write them in French even if you have to guess at the spelling, and tell what they mean in English.
6. What did you read in French today? (Books, magazines, comics, labels, directions, newspapers, posters, letters, cards—anything you read.)
7. Did you do any of the following things in French today? Write the letter of each thing you did. Then describe at least one thing.
    a. gave someone some information
    b. explained something
    c. greeted somebody
    d. apologized for something
    e. asked for something
    f. described something (or someone)
    g. said something funny
    h. complained about something
    i. expressed your opinion
    j. gave praise or a compliment

Questions about Feelings

8. The best thing that happened to me today was __________.
9. The easiest way for me to learn something in French is when __________.
10. I feel very frustrated when __________.
11. One of the things I like about life in Belgium is __________. (You can comment on people, things to do, food, games, TV or radio, movies, or anything that happens.)

Free Question

12. Write about anything that was not covered in the questions above.

Alain's Description of His Immersion Experience

Before I went to Belgium I knew some French, but I decided not to use it because I wanted to learn the Belgian version of French. I visited my aunt and uncle and seven cousins. My youngest cousin is Pierrot, who was fifteen. Some of my older cousins are married and have little children. Some of my cousins knew some English and started to teach me what to say and how to act in Belgium. My aunt helped me by writing out words in French and English, and by using pictures to show me what words meant, and she corrected my pronunciation.

During my weeks in Belgium I learned lots of French, went to the library three times, and had a talk with a librarian—who was surprised that, speaking such good French, I could be an American child. I felt happy!

In Belgium I usually got up late, after most of my cousins had gone to school or work, and had a *tartine** for breakfast. Then I played, watched TV, or went shopping with my aunt or by myself. My aunt and uncle and some of my cousins had lunch together, which was the biggest meal of the day. Some of the food was good, but some I didn't like very much. After lunch I usually played in the garden with Pierrot or by myself, or watched TV or went shopping. I also enjoyed playing board games in French with my cousins. We had dinner about six-thirty or seven, and afterwards I usually read while my cousins did homework. Later we often watched TV together. I went to bed when everyone else did, about ten o'clock.

My aunt and uncle and some of my cousins were going to France for their vacation, so they invited me to go with them for two weeks. We stayed in a country house on a mountain.

In France I read lots of signs, talked to neighbors and also to other people, mainly kids. On most days I woke up about nine or earlier, had breakfast, then played or went to pick cherries with Pierrot and his friend Bernard. Then we had lunch outside if the weather was nice, then sat in the sun for a while. Later we went swimming in the Bernadou River, which was very cold and had crayfish in it. We also loved to play with buckets of water, throwing them on each other near the house. We had dinner and sometimes played Scrabble in French, and went to bed about nine.

The most exciting thing that happened to me in France was the *Quatorze Juillet*† party in a nearby village, where I met kids my age and younger, and we had fun playing while the grownups danced and ate. We didn't go to sleep until two in the morning.

After spending six weeks with my cousins in Belgium and France, I met my parents in Geneva, and I couldn't stop talking in

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* A *tartine* is a slice of bread with something sweet on it, like jam or *mélasse*.

† The *Quatorze Juillet* is Bastille Day. It's like the Fourth of July.

French. I talked easily with my Swiss grandmother in French and understood everything she said.

Things that helped me learn French better were everybody's explanations and patience, games we played, and comic books in French. Also, my cousins knew more English than I thought, so they helped by translating part of the time. Watching TV also helped because I could learn words from the pictures.

Analysis of Methodology

In order to ascertain how effective each question provided to Alain was in eliciting a response in his journal, a tally was made of the number of responses for each question. Table 2 categorizes the questions in terms of whether responses were elicited concerning listening, speaking, reading, or attitudes, and gives the number of responses for each category.

The most productive category was clearly language functions, which elicited a total of seventy-eight journal entries, over half of which (forty-five) involved the functions of greeting, requesting, apologizing, and informing.

The question eliciting the next largest number of entries (twenty-seven) was the free question, which was used in most cases to describe the day's events and occasionally to register a complaint.

Writing down new words and expressions in French elicited twenty responses, and describing reading material produced fourteen. On thirteen occasions, Alain wrote about the best thing that had happened to him that day, and he described his frustrations in learning French in eight entries. The other questions elicited six or fewer responses.

In order to shed some light on the reasons for more answers to some questions than to others, Alain was asked to explain which types of questions he preferred and why. He said that he found the listening questions difficult for several reasons. He felt he could have written about conversations that he both understood and didn't understand every day, but found it was too hard to remember specific conversations at the end of the day when he was writing his journal, and that in any case they were too long to write down. Evaluating the difficulty of different types of listening situations was confusing because he did not completely understand the question and therefore was not sure how to answer it. In the group of questions on speaking, he explained that although he had many successful brief interchanges, he didn't really feel he had engaged in conversations, which he characterized as consisting of at least two or three exchanges between people. He said that the question he liked best was the one

Table 2

Number of Responses to Questions

Questions		Number of Journal Entries	
Listening Questions:			
1. Listening comprehension		3	
2. Listening noncomprehension		4	
3. Evaluation of difficulty		3	
Total Listening			10
Speaking Questions:			
4. Successful conversation		1	
5. New words or expressions learned		20	
6. Language functions		78 (total)	
a. informing	10		
b. explaining	6		
c. greeting	13		
d. apologizing	11		
e. requesting	11		
f. describing	4		
g. joking	5		
h. complaining	5		
i. expressing opinion	7		
j. praising	6		
Total Speaking			99
Reading Question:			
7. Material Read		14	
Total Reading			14
Attitude Questions:			
8. Best event of day		13	
9. Easiest way to learn French		4	
10. Frustrations		8	
11. Positive feelings about culture		6	
Total Attitudes			31
12. Free Question		27	
Total Free Question			27
Total Number of Journal Entries in Forty-three-day Period			181

about language functions because it was so easy to answer. The reading question was also easy, and he could have answered it every day, but got tired of writing the same thing over and over. The open-ended attitude questions appealed to him because all he had to do was complete the sentences. He claimed that he stopped writing completions for the question on the easiest way to learn French because they were always the same. In other words, he had decided that comics, TV, and pictures were helpful learning tools and did not change his opinion or approach during the course of the study.

The conclusion to be drawn from the number of responses elicited by each question is that some revision of questions is needed. First, specific meanings of key terminology need to be established. What exactly is a *conversation*? What exactly is *listening*? A reordering of questions might also be helpful. The most successful question, language functions, might be listed first to encourage more writing. Some difficult concepts, like listening comprehension, might be better dealt with as completion questions such as the ones in the category of feelings.

Analysis of Journal Entries

Analysis and discussion of actual journal entries is presented under the question categories of listening, speaking, reading, and attitudes.

Listening

Although few entries concerned listening comprehension specifically, some insights were provided in this language skill. Conversations that were understood were those that took place while Alain was playing a game and those that related to incidents in which he participated actively. The conversations that he could not understand were those in which he was a passive onlooker overhearing an adult conversation. Alain apparently does not use eavesdropping (see Schumann, 1980) as a language-learning strategy, but prefers active involvement. His early comments on relative difficulty of different types of listening situations were limited to television, which he found easy to understand because the pictures aided comprehension, and to the speech adults directed to him. He felt that as soon as adults realized he was American, they simplified their speech so that he could understand. However, a month later he commented that he was finding children much easier to understand than adults. He seemed to be aware of the fact that a simplified register, or "foreigner talk," was being addressed to him (see Snow and Ferguson, 1977; Katz, 1977; Wagner-Gough and Hatch, 1975).

Speaking

The one time Alain wrote about a successful conversation was in the very last journal entry. He had been reunited with his parents after a long separation, and for the first hour or two had so much to tell them about his experiences in Belgium and France that he did not even seem to be aware that the entire conversation was in French. As mentioned previously, his understanding of "conversation" was that it had to be a longer interchange than his customary short ones with his cousins.

Alain apparently enjoyed writing down new words and expressions. At first these were matched carefully with English equivalents, according to the instructions, but from his third day in Belgium he began to substitute a French word or phrase in an English sentence almost every day and the amount of French relative to English increased. He spelled French as it sounded to him, and his lack of grammatical control is reflected in his written French. An example of mixed English and French (and of phonetic spelling and grammatical inaccuracy in French) is found in the following entry:

> Day 15: Today a dull day, 'cept film, sort of. Let me explain. *Une monsieur vien et lesse nous voir* slides of *le vacance dedans France, apres deden Suisse.* (A gentleman came and let us see slides of the vacation in France, and after in Switzerland.)

After twenty-one days in a French-speaking environment, some daily entries in the journal began to be completely in French. This occurred seven different times in the remaining twenty-two days, and may indicate that he was beginning to think in French at least part of the time.

Entries about the functional uses of language were the most frequent. The rank order of use of different functions was:

1. greeting
2. apologizing; requesting
3. informing
4. expressing opinions
5. explaining; praising
6. joking; complaining
7. describing

The formulas for greeting, apologizing, and requesting were of course known to Alain before his visit, so it is understandable that he found these language functions the easiest to use frequently. Informing is also frequent, due perhaps to the fact that he had to respond to questions that were asked him. The lower frequency of the other functions may match a normal lower frequency in natural language, they may be due to the fact that more complex linguistic structures are called for in them; or they may be due to a combination of both factors. A valuable spinoff of the journal entries in this category was that Alain became aware for the first time of the functional uses and nature of language.

Reading

Types of reading listed in the journal included safety instructions on the plane, signs on shops, labels, things written on the television screen, directions, posters, magazines, letters, and books. His favorite reading matter was hardcover comic books in French. These illustrated adventure stories, such as the *Tin Tin* and *Astérix* series, are of higher quality both intellectually and artistically than the usual U.S. comic books, and he was familiar with the European type of book from many years of previous exposure.

Apparently little or no reading took place during his two weeks in France, for it was not mentioned in his journal. After the page for the tenth day of his visit, a page was left blank in the journal with a suggestion that he write a composition on it. First he listed books he liked in French and could recommend to other children. These were all of the hardcover comic book type described. He then went on to say:

> All of these books are in French. They have great pictures. I think that a child learning French or in this matter, any language, should try to read in books like this. I'd like to compliment Dupuis and Casterman, two publishers, on their great books with pictures that really got the message through, even though I didn't understand the writing or text.

Attitudes

The questions about feelings revealed some of Alain's attitudes about his experiences, what he felt facilitated his language learning, his frustrations, and his reactions to aspects of Belgian life. In addition, attitudes were sometimes reflected in his answers to the free question at the end.

Positive feelings as reflected in responses to questions number 8 (best event of the day), 11 (things liked about life in Belgium), and sometimes 12 (free question) outweighed by 18 to 12 the negative feelings expressed in responses to questions number 10 (frustrations) and sometimes 12 (free question). This may be due in part to the design of the questions.

Typical positive comments were:

> One of the things I like about life in Belgium is . . .
> Day 3 . . . that there is always a lot to do.
> Day 7 . . . people, things to do, games, TV
> Day 11 . . . watching "Battlestar Galactica" on TV, *frites* (French fries)
> Day 16 . . . buying three books.

Some positive comments had to do with his own culture rather than the new one.

Day 14 . . . seeing Huck Finn *en Englais* (in English).

On the other hand, in France he twice expressed the best event of the day in French:

Day 29 . . . *nage – très bien.*
Day 30 . . . *Je nage – bon.*

Typical negative comments were:

I feel very frustrated when . . .
Day 3 . . . I have to ask "What?" in English.
Day 6 . . . I've nothing to do.
Day 8 . . . I know not in French what I want to say. (Note transfer of French word order in this construction.)
Day 42 . . . I can't understand conversations.

Other negative comments were complaints about lack of anything to do, about poor television programs, and about physical ailments.

The conclusion to be drawn from Alain's comments about his feelings is that he is an activity-oriented child who is happiest when he has many things to do. The language seemed less important to him than the activities he was engaged in; if these were stimulating, he did not seem overly concerned about his lack of linguistic proficiency.

Alain's attitude toward cultural aspects of life in Belgium and France seemed quite positive. Many cultural differences that could have been expected to affect him did not seem to, and this can probably be attributed to the fact that he had visited a similar culture (Switzerland) on previous occasions and that his own family life in the United States is bicultural in many respects. Comments in his journal show that he enjoyed going to public events such as a fair in Belgium where he won a bottle of champagne and the village festivities celebrating Bastille Day in France. On the latter occasion, he was particularly impressed by the fact that everyone danced and that he was allowed to stay up later than ever before in his life. Another comment indicates that one of the things he liked about Belgium was "old time things like hand water pumps." He reacted to differences in food by simply refusing to eat certain things; this caused a great deal of concern to his aunt until she was reassured that he did the same thing at home. On the whole, then, Alain perceived cultural differences as interesting and a normal part of the lifestyle in which he was immersed.

Applications of Linguistic Journals

This pilot study shows that an elementary school-age child can keep a language diary and that such a diary can provide insights into the child's second language learning experiences. Prepared questions help elicit specific types of information, but these need to be carefully designed so that the child understands them and so that they call for information directly related to language learning. One advantage of prepared questions is that they facilitate data analysis.

For younger children and for children who do not write easily, a taped journal or one dictated to a parent or teacher could accomplish the same objectives as a handwritten one. Keeping a language learning journal seems both a feasible and useful project to be considered for children learning English as a second language in the United States.

Linguistic and psychological advantages can be found in a journal-keeping project. By directing children's attention to their own language learning experiences and by valuing them, active participation in the learning process is encouraged. Identification of what facilitates or hinders language learning for an individual child can help to organize both formal learning activities at school and informal ones at home. After keeping a language journal over a period of time, children can actually observe the amount of progress they have made in learning the new language and understanding the new culture.

Of equal or greater importance in keeping a language journal is the affective dimension. In personal journals children are free to write about feelings, problems, and opinions, and their ideas and concerns gain importance and value because they exist in written form. Many children may wish to keep parts of their journals private, and this should be respected. Sharing a journal with a parent can become a meaningful experience for both parent and child, and can help the parent understand the child's feelings about the language learning experience. These feelings can often be shared with teachers in order to give them information about the child's individual needs.

Even if the teacher is unfamiliar with the language in which the journal is kept, translation assistance in the community is frequently available, and can help bridge the communication gap. Bilingual teachers have the advantage of understanding both the home and school languages and cultures. They can interpret a parent-initiated journal written by a limited-English-proficient child and can even consider making a class project of language journals for all their children learning English as a second language.

Alain's Suggestions for Other Children

My suggestions for keeping a journal are to get a composition book and write in the dates on each page. Start writing on the first day and continue through the last day, explaining troubles, hardships, happiness, feelings, and events. I think it's a good idea to keep a journal because you can help yourself learn that language, and then you also remember nice parts of your visit or experience. Dictating it, taping it, and doing it yourself are good ways to write a journal. My journal would have been easier to do if I had had someone to dictate it to, because it takes so long to write everything. A journal is very personal. All of it can be shared with parents, but I wouldn't share all of it with a teacher or other people.

Conclusion

This study described the language learning experiences of a ten-year-old boy in a summer immersion experience in a French-speaking environment. The subject kept a daily linguistic journal which provided information about his insights into his own language learning style and his attitudes toward the learning process.

The educational importance of this study lies in the potential application by parents and teachers of journal writing for children learning English as a second language. Linguistic journals can foster children's active involvement with their own language learning as well as the involvement of parents in their children's second language experiences. Teachers can also obtain important information about children's attitudes and concerns during their second language acquisition process through linguistic journals.

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CHAPTER 12

Improving Vocational Training in Bilingual Areas

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Introduction

According to estimates released in 1978, there are over 28 million minority language persons[1] in the United States as a whole.[2] In thirteen states, over 15 percent of the population is classified as belonging to a minority language group (see Table 1). In these states, as well as in other locales where significant numbers of limited-English-proficient (LEP) adults reside, special challenges are posed for traditional vocational programs that may not be equipped to deal with the training needs of this target population.

Minority language persons face the same problems as all minority groups in the United States, including discrimination in employment and limited educational and vocational training opportunities. In addition to these widely recognized obstacles, limited proficiency in English can create an additional set of problems related to finding and holding a job. First of all, the whole process of searching and applying for a job is dependent, in varying degrees, on certain minimal English-language skills. When interviewing is a part of the application process, LEP candidates may convey a lack of self-assurance and competence that is related more to their English language skills than to their actual job potential. Once a job is obtained, communication breakdowns with fellow workers, supervisors, and clients or customers who are monolingual English speakers can, in many cases, make it difficult for LEP workers to hold on to their jobs.

One researcher who has exhaustively examined language-related communication problems in industrial settings in Great Britain (Gumperz, 1978) has found that breakdowns in communication can occur even when individuals have achieved moderate proficiency in the target language. A frequent source of communication breakdown in the cases studied by Gumperz was traced to factors that operated at both prosodic and paralinguistic levels, including such things as pitch, stress, rhythm, and intonation. In many cases, therefore, interethnic conflict in these work settings was traced to simple communication misunderstanding related to very subtle, culturally based differences in the way English was being used by nonnative speakers. Clearly, achieving communicative competence in English is a difficult, yet extremely important goal for individuals with a native language other than English.

Not all jobs in bilingual areas in the United States, of course, require highly developed English skills. Many jobs, in fact, may require little, if any, English. However, even in bilingual work environments

Table 1

States with High Proportions of Minority Language Persons Spring 1976

State	Percentage
New Mexico	44
Hawaii	35
California	25
New York	25
Texas	25
Arizona	23
Rhode Island	21
Connecticut	19
New Jersey	19
Louisiana	17
Massachusetts	17
North Dakota	17
New Hampshire	15
Florida	14
Alaska	14
Colorado	14
Average, All States	13

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, "Geographic Distribution, Nativity, and Age Distribution of Language Minorities in the U.S.: Spring 1976," *NCES Bulletin 78-134*, August 22, 1978, as cited in Berry and Feldman, 1980, p. 155.

where LEP workers may be able to rely on their native language for communicating on the job, knowledge of English may be important for job advancement and for general social mobility.

A recent evaluation of publicly funded bilingual vocational training programs supported the following findings, which the U.S. Congress used as a basis for legislation in this area (Berry and Feldman, 1980, p. 140):

1. Limited-English-speaking persons suffer the hardships of unemployment or underemployment.... Unemployment rates of persons in bilingual vocational programs were three to four

times as high as the national average prior to entering training.

2. Efforts of persons of limited English-speaking ability to profit from vocational education are severely restricted, and the problem affects millions of U.S. citizens.
3. Limited-English-speaking persons, because of a lack of vocational training opportunities, are unable to help fill the critical need for trained personnel in vital occupational categories.

Areas with a large concentration of LEP adults, consequently, are confronted with special training problems because a lack of facility in English effectively disqualifies them from participation in vocational training programs as traditionally conceived. In human resource terms, this state of affairs creates a labor pool that is not fully used, due to language-related difficulties.

This paper examines some possible approaches to incorporating language training into vocational training programs. First, various models will be outlined, then one specific program which has demonstrated a high degree of success will be described in some detail, drawing on data obtained from an external evaluation of the program.

Approaches to Vocational Training in Bilingual Areas

In the past, the primary means through which adults with limited English proficiency received formal instruction in English was typically through English as a second language (ESL) classes offered in local adult education programs. These classes, however, were limited in three important respects:

1. They provided an extremely small number of contact hours (typically six hours per week), resulting in very slow progress in English. This, in turn, led to extremely high attrition rates, due to loss of motivation on the part of adults seeking to improve their English skills.
2. The classes typically stressed basic English grammar, with little emphasis on the improvement of functional communicative skills. The latter are more relevant for vocational purposes.
3. The ESL programs were not designed to meet specific vocational goals of students. As a rule, these programs saw their primary goal as one of providing a "general educational service" to the community; potential vocational benefits, if considered at all, were generally deemed to be of secondary importance.

Title II of the Educational Amendments of 1976 (an act to extend the Higher Education Act of 1965, to extend and revise the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and for other purposes) specified that states assure that a part of their vocational education allotments be set aside to serve LEP needs, to the extent that this target group is represented in the state's population [P.L. 94-482, Section 110(b)(1)]. In response to this, a number of bilingual vocational training programs were set up in various areas of the United States. By the fall of 1977, 267 bilingual vocational training classes serving 8,700 LEP trainees per year were reported (Berry and Feldman, 1980).

Bilingual vocational training is only one of several possible approaches for providing vocational training for LEP adults. Crandall (1979) identifies four models that would, in varying degrees, serve to meet the training needs of this target population:

1. **Prevocational ESL followed by job placement.**
   The focus is on teaching basic job acquisition skills (such as learning the language of job applications, want ads, interviews, job manuals, employment tests, etc.). These courses are not connected to a specific vocational training program, and no job-related skills are taught.

2. **Vocational ESL followed by vocational training.**
   Students are engaged in intensive ESL study until their language skills are at a high enough level to enter the regular vocational offerings. A potential disadvantage of this model is that vocational training is postponed — meaning, in some cases, significant delays in entering the labor force.

3. **Concurrent ESL and vocational training.**
   ESL instruction is offered at the same time as vocational training. In many cases, the ESL component here is seen as a means of explaining and reinforcing key aspects of the vocational training.

4. **Bilingual vocational training with vocational ESL.**
   This type of program provides some of the occupational skills training in the native language of the trainees, and some in English. The primary advantage of this model is that, since vocational skills are presented in both languages, trainees can acquire vocational skills while their English skills are being developed. A potential disadvantage in some areas is that the vocational instructors must be bilingual.

A comprehensive study of bilingual vocational training (model 4) found that these programs have been quite effective, both in helping

LEP adults obtain meaningful employment, as well as in helping bilingual areas meet their staffing needs:

> Bilingual vocational training.... is an effective approach to providing occupational skills training to limited-English-speaking adults.... The programs generally have operated effectively in terms of both (1) activities that are responsive to trainees' needs and relevant to labor market realities, and (2) employment and earning outcomes of trainees. (Berry and Feldman, 1980, p. 147)

No similar large-scale studies have been done on models that combine vocational ESL and English-only vocational training (i.e., models 2 and 3). In the absence of such a large-scale study, one way to gain some preliminary indication as to the feasibility of other approaches is to examine the external evaluations of specific programs that have followed one of these alternative models. The data reported below were obtained during a six-month external evaluation conducted by the authors of a training program in San Antonio, Texas that followed model 2 (vocational ESL followed by regular vocational training). First, the target group is described, then the program itself. Data related to the evaluation of program effectiveness are presented, followed by a discussion of implications for staff training in bilingual areas.

Trainee Characteristics

The target group for bilingual vocational training, as defined by Congress in the 1976 legislation, is as follows (Berry and Feldman, 1980, p. 17):

1. Non-English speaking or limited English speaking and having a non-English native language
2. Sixteen years of age or older and out of school
3. Unemployed or underemployed
4. In need of acquiring new job skills or upgrading existing skills

The target group for the San Antonio program described here (henceforth, Project Work), is identical to that of the legislative definition, with only the minimum age of entry (eighteen) being slightly higher. San Antonio, located 150 miles from the Mexican border, is a strongly bilingual, multicultural community (55 percent Mexican American, 8 percent Black, and 37 percent Anglo). Table 2 presents the summary data on trainee characteristics over a two-year period.

The profile that emerges for a "typical" participant in the Project Work ESL program is of a limited-English-proficient Hispanic adult who has not completed high school, is currently unemployed, and is

Table 2

Trainee Characteristics: 1970-1980

	Number	Percent
Ethnic Group		
Hispanic	101	90
Asian	10	9
Other	1	1
Age		
18–21	27	24
22–44	71	63
45–54	12	11
55 and over	2	2
Sex		
Female	70	62
Male	42	38
Family Status		
Parent in Two-Parent Family	24	22
Single Parent	39	36
Other Family Member	26	24
Nondependent Individual	18	17
Educational Attainment		
Less than High School	90	80
High School Graduate	16	14
Post High School	6	5
Labor Force Status		
Underemployed	0	0
Unemployed	111	99
Other	1	1
English Language Proficiency		
Limited English Proficient	112	100
English Proficient	0	0
Economic Status		
Economically Disadvantaged	112	100
Income above Poverty Level	0	0

classified as "economically disadvantaged." It is interesting to note that there have been 25 percent more female participants than male, and that 63 percent of the participants are in the twenty-two- to forty-four-year-old age range.

Program records do not break down Hispanic participants according to country of origin. This information was obtained, however, for a case study group being trained at the time of evaluation (January –

March 1981). Of the fifteen Hispanics in this group, seven had been born in Mexico, two in Cuba, one in the Dominican Republic, one in Uruguay, and four in the United States. For those students born outside the United States, the average number of years of residence in the United States was six-and-a-half. Out of the fifteen students in this group, eleven had lived in the United States for a period of five years or more. Project personnel report that these figures would be fairly typical for all groups over the past two years. In sum, the program is training both recent immigrants and long-term residents, but most of the students belong to the latter group. It is of particular interest to note that despite the relatively long U.S. residence of many of these individuals, their English was still quite limited (see subsequent section). Apparently, residence alone does not necessarily result in exposure to English or increased proficiency in the language.

No data were available in this particular program regarding the native language literacy skills of the participants, but literacy skills were required for program participation. During intake interviews between potential participants and program personnel, the literacy skills of each individual were discussed and ascertained in a general way. All participants were reported to be literate in their native language.

Program Description

The following is a description of the program's procedures from recruitment and selection to training and placement.

Recruitment. Participants are recruited by two means, media outreach and referral. Posters are placed strategically in the communities of greater economic need, and announcements are made on radio stations popular in those areas. There are some walk-in inquiries, and a number of participants are referred by other agencies.

Intake. Candidates fill out applications and are interviewed. They must be of low-income level, unemployed, and over eighteen years of age in order to be considered. If they meet these criteria, they are referred for assessment.

General Assessment. Goodwill Industries administers a battery of general achievement and work skills tests. They also decide through interacting with participants whether or not their English is limited.

Selection. After the results of assessment are studied, students whose English is limited are referred to the ESL program. (Those with no English are not, as they could not be helped sufficiently in a matter of weeks.) Others are referred directly to skills training, job placement, or other adult education programs. In addition to language, student motivation is an important selection factor.

ESL Assessment. Students are evaluated by means of a teacher-developed oral interview and by the Ilyin Level 100-200-300 English-Second-Language Placement Test, a multiple-choice written test in which students must read and select grammatically and semantically correct responses or completions to the phrases given.

ESL Placement. Students typically fall in the limited-English-speaker range, meaning that they can function with limited success in a limited number of contexts. With some individualization based on assessment and placement, they can progress in general English skills and particularly in the job contexts to which they aspire.

ESL Instruction. Fully bilingual and bicultural as a result of many years' residence in Mexico, the ESL instructor is, in many respects, ideally suited for working with the kind of trainee that typically participates in the ESL program. In addition to the teacher, there is a teacher aide who frequently works with the trainees on particular areas of difficulty, as well as conducting the class whenever the teacher is absent. The instructor is free to choose teaching techniques within the proposal description, which outlines an essentially audiolingual approach to language instruction. Structured speaking is heavily stressed. Role play, especially job-related role play, is extensively utilized. The primary goal of the instructional program is to provide students with a functional proficiency in English sufficient to meet the demands of vocational training and of subsequent employment. Specific objectives, as verbalized by the instructor, include:

1. Mastering job-related vocabulary
2. Improving conversation skills needed for communicating with supervisors and fellow employees
3. Increasing knowledge of basic English grammar
4. Developing ability to read instruction and reference manuals
5. Building functional writing skills needed for filling out applications and forms, and for brief narratives
6. Improving interviewing skills
7. Learning basic consumer and survival skills

An important secondary objective, stressed by the instructor in all classroom work, is to enhance each trainee's self-confidence in using English skills to achieve specific communication goals.

ESL Materials. The instructor is free to choose materials according to the guidelines mentioned earlier. Rather than using a set of texts for all students, he has a broad repertoire of materials typically used for ESL students and job-related teacher-made materials. Use of this range of resources permits appropriate individualization.

Program Enrichment. The instructor is free to design extension and enrichment activities for the students' exposure to English. Among these he includes group luncheons, speakers, library excursions and films, and field trips to the Institute of Texan Cultures, businesses, and training sites.

Counseling and Support Service Referrals. Each student has an initial interview with a program counselor and is then further scheduled according to individual need. Appropriate referrals are made for medical and economic assistance, child care, etc. In addition, each participant has interviews with his or her job developer.

Attrition and Exiting. The drop-out rate is very low, with only family crisis, severe illness, or a necessary move out of the city as contributors to removal from the program. Most students remain for an average of nine to ten weeks, until placed in their chosen skills training program, and until the instructor feels they have progressed sufficiently in English.

Skills Training and Placement. Following ESL, most students go on to skills training and job placement. About 80 percent are finally placed in jobs, although not all of these placements are related to the training undertaken.

Follow-up. A program follow-up specialist typically does several follow-up calls on each participant at designated intervals, assuming the person is still reachable. Information about job retention and satisfaction is of particular interest.

Evidence of Program Success

There is evidence of effective program structuring and implementation in a number of categories, which indicates program success in facilitating participant learning.

Job Placement, Retention, and Performance. The program has a high placement rate. Of the participants who are placed in jobs (76 percent), follow-ups at the end of a year indicate that 50 percent are still on the same job. Employer surveys reveal that 83 percent of the participants are positively viewed by their employers as to preparation and performance, including two-thirds of the 50 percent who left the initial job placement. A more complete description of the surveys is given in the last segment of this section.

Test Results. The ESL instructor uses two instruments for determining trainee proficiency in English upon entering the program. The first is an oral proficiency test developed by the instructor, and used primarily for grouping purposes. This test has not been standardized, and is administered to trainees upon entering the program, but not upon exiting.

The second instrument that has been used consistently for measuring English proficiency is the English-Second-Language Placement Test 100-200-300 (EPT). This test is administered upon both entry to and exit from the program. Since records have been maintained by the instructor on "pre" and "post" scores since the inception of the program, the EPT data provide a useful summary of trainee gains in English achievement across the entire history of the program. The EPT is a written test consisting of fifty items, and provides a measure of the subject's knowledge of basic English structure. The test was written by Donna Ilyin and was standardized on students attending the Alemay Adult School in San Francisco. Norms for the state of California were established based on scores obtained from students attending adult schools in Sacramento, El Centro, and San Francisco, California. The author reports a reliability of .92 for the instrument.[3] The test can be used for placement of adults at the elementary and lower-intermediate levels, but is not appropriate for measuring proficiency at the upper-intermediate or advanced levels.

Ordinarily, pre- and post-measures should be made at least ninety days apart in order to avoid a "practice effect."[4] Since ESL instruction in this program typically ran from six to twelve weeks, the recommended time lapse between the pre- and post-measures could not be observed. However, since the EPT has two alternate forms (Forms A and B) the practice effect can be at least partly eliminated by using one form for the pretest and the alternate form for the posttest.[5] In interpreting the test data presented below, the limitations of the EPT should be kept in mind. The EPT provides a measure of structural accuracy for adults at lower levels of English proficiency — it does not provide information on students' *oral* proficiency (i.e., how well they can use English for a specific purpose, such as vocational training).

Pre- and posttest scores in the EPT were available for 113 of 128 students, who entered the program between January 1979 and August 1980. The mean gain for all trainees was 8.0, a respectable figure considering the brief period of instruction (an average of approximately nine weeks), and considering that the test developer regards a ten-point gain to represent progress equivalent to one full level of ESL instruction.

In order to make the test data more meaningful, the trainee gains were broken down by number of weeks of instruction (which varied widely) and by the level of the trainee's entry score. An increase in mean gain is evident as the number of weeks in the program increases. This increase is particularly evident in the nine-to-eleven-week interval, and appears to indicate that students benefit from being kept in the program for more than eight weeks. A legitimate question at this point is to what extent these gains might have been obtained over this period of time, even without ESL instruction. This question cannot be answered with certainty without a comparison group. However, given the nature of the test, which measures structural accuracy and not oral proficiency, it seems highly unlikely that these gains would have been registered without formal ESL instruction.

As might be expected, the lower the level of English skills of the trainee upon entering the program, the greater the gain posted by that trainee (mean gain of 13.0 for those entering with a score lower than twenty). This would seem to indicate that the ESL instruction is providing the greatest help to those who need it the most, students with lower levels of English proficiency. Trainees who enter the program with a more substantial mastery of basic English structure (i.e., an EPT score of forty or higher) register relatively small gains (mean gain of 2.0). In part, this is an artifact of the instrument being used — once a student scores above forty on EPT 100-200-300, this is an indication that a more appropriate test given their level would be the CELT (Harris and Palmer, 1981) or the Michigan ELI (Lado, 1951; Michigan English Language Institute, 1961) tests which, like the EPT, measure structural accuracy but are designed for adults who are at a more advanced level. In other words, there appears to be a "ceiling effect" for students entering with scores of forty or higher.

In an effort to provide more comprehensive information regarding program outcomes in English language development, an additional test, the Language Assessment Scales (LAS II—DeAvila and Duncan, 1977), was administered to the case study group in addition to the measures normally administered by the ESL instructor. The LAS has been used extensively throughout the United States for screening and placing students who are limited English proficient. The technical manual reports on discriminant validity studies that demonstrate successful discrimination between English/Spanish native speakers and limited-English/Spanish speakers, as well as construct validity studies which show a consistent positive relationship between LAS oral language proficiency levels and academic achievement. The claim for content validity is based on the inclusion of subsections in the test that measure four major systems of language: phonemic, lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic. Test reliability is reported for stability of language classification (test/retest r of .88), as well as internal consistency (r = .95).

In order to maintain full control over the testing process, the evaluators brought in an outside research assistant to administer the LAS II tests individually to the trainees. The same individual did the pre- and posttesting, thus minimizing error due to interrater inconsistency (particularly on Part V of the test, which assesses speaking and requires some interpretation on the part of the test administrator in the scoring).

The project had no alternate forms for the LAS II; consequently, the same form was administered before and after. Use of the same form introduces the possibility of practice effect, resulting in artificially higher posttest scores. This problem is minimized in the first four subsections of the test, which involve sound discrimination, vocabulary recognition, and sentence comprehension, although it is a possibility on the final section of the test, which involves story retelling. The seven-week lapse between pre- and posttest should be sufficient time, however, to minimize the problem of practice effect.

The mean pretest score on the LAS II was 56.9, which represents an upper level two score, and the mean posttest score was 73.5, which represents a solid level four score. (Level four is designated by the test developers as the level at which subjects should be able to use the language effectively for learning purposes.)

Considering that there were only seven weeks between the pre- and posttest (the pretest was administered three weeks into the cycle), this mean gain of 16.6, representing progress equivalent to more than one level in the LAS classification system, is highly impressive evidence of significant ESL achievement over the course of a training cycle. The LAS, of course, does not measure functional language competence, and there may be some limitations in using this test with adults. Nevertheless, the size of the gains that were posted on this externally administered test are solid supporting evidence of this program's effectiveness in achieving significant improvement in the trainee's level of proficiency in English.

Student Reactions to Program. All participants in the January 1981 ESL class answered a survey, offered in English and Spanish, designed to reflect:

1. Attitudes toward teachers and expectations of teachers
2. Attitudes about learning
3. Social expectations
4. Program expectations
5. Attitudes toward self and perceptions of self
6. Attitudes about work
7. Expectations about work
8. Attitudes toward English and English learning

The participants responded to another version of the questionnaire toward the end of their program (March 13, 1981). Thus it is possible to describe participant responses for each of the clusters above and to compare the two sets of responses to determine directions of any change.

A summary of results indicates that students are generally very positive about the program on pre- and post-scales. The fact that they start out fairly positive indicates that the screening interviews help to select the most motivated. They want to learn, to work, to speak English, and to interact in the language with peers and teachers, and they feel that the program has helped them to do these things. They indicate that they feel good about themselves and their lives despite perceived learning difficulties, lesser intelligence, lack of control over life, or lack of success.

A final measure of student reactions is that participants attend regularly. Further, attrition is very low, and dropping out is always related to a personal problem rather than to any dissatisfaction with the program.

Meeting Employer Needs. The final indicator of the success of the program is in the area of subsequent employer satisfaction with participants. As part of a follow-up study in January 1981, employers of twenty-two participants from two previous years' classes responded to a questionnaire. On the three items pertaining to job retention, employers reported that approximately half of the participants were still on the job. Two-thirds of those who had left were viewed positively, having left for such causes as reduction in force, pregnancy, another job, reason unknown. One-third were fired and viewed as unsatisfactory employees. Their job performance and attitude were rated unsatisfactory, although their training and English skills were not. Most of those who eventually left stayed at least four months before resigning.

Ninety percent of the employers reported that English skills were either moderately or very important for the job the individual had or currently has. This finding should bear heavily on their satisfaction with the employee's language performance, examined in the next section. Seventy-three percent of the employers were either satisfied or highly satisfied with employee job performance. The same number were either satisfied or highly satisfied with the employee's attitude.

The response to the employee's degree of job training was slightly less positive. Nearly half found the employee adequately trained; and also nearly half, partially trained. None found him or her highly trained, but only one found the employee inadequately trained.

The overall response regarding the employee's English skills was mixed: one-third "fully adequate," one-third "adequate," and one-third "somewhat deficient." Although these are of necessity totally subjective responses, they are of great importance to employee success. Response regarding specific skills (e.g., listening or speaking) was similar, with 73 percent reporting that the employee's understanding of spoken and written English and his or her speaking ability were adequate. Table 3 summarizes employer responses.

Why the Program Works: Implications for Vocational Training

According to employer responses, English language skills are vital to job success. Judging by program entry requirements, English language skills are also vital to being able to receive job training and placement assistance. Further, the cost effectiveness[6] of the Project Work program may possibly be interpreted to mean that participants can be trained more effectively and placed more satisfactorily if their language needs are attended to along with their vocational needs. Even though no comparison groups could be established for the program participants in question, it is clear that other programs based in the same strongly bilingual region also have many participants for whom English is a second language. Quite possibly, their participants would also benefit from assistance with language skills prior to or during their vocational training, as the importance of English training for special purposes and special clientele is widely recognized:

> A considerable number of programs for the teaching of English have been sponsored by diverse institutions, but in many cases the type of training that has been offered does not seem to fulfill the expectations of the recipients. . . . Many employers underestimate Cubans in the labor force because of their enunciation and/or ethnicity and will, therefore, not accord them equal treatment. (Jorge and Moncarz, 1981)

A number of factors discussed above suggest that this combined ESL vocational model is a successful one: student reactions are quite positive, English achievement scores are high, placement rates are high, job retention rates are better than normal, performance assessment is extensive, and employer reactions are quite positive.

Thus, not only is the establishment of such a program adjunct to be recommended to manpower administrations, but also the specifics of this example of the model are to be recommended: the bilingual teacher, the eclectic approach to language extension, the particular emphasis on job-related language, the careful intake and placement processes, and the utilization of support services.

Possibly the strongest implication for other manpower programs is the replicability of this approach in any area having bilingual, economically disadvantaged populations of unemployed persons. Even though there is not as yet a large-scale study of the effectiveness of this program model (earlier referred to as model 2), as there is for

Table 3

Employer Rating of ESL Program Participants

Response Category	Employee still on job	Employee left by positive termination	Employee left by negative termination
Job Performance			
highly satisfied	7	2	0
satisfied	3	6	0
partly satisfied	0	0	4
dissatisfied	0	0	0
Attitude			
highly satisfied	7	1	0
satisfied	3	7	0
partly satisfied	0	0	3
dissatisfied	0	0	1
Training			
highly trained	0	0	0
adequately trained	6	4	1
partially trained	4	4	2
inadequately trained	0	0	1
English Skills–Overall			
fully adequate	6	3	0
more or less adequate	2	2	2
somewhat deficient	2	3	2
highly deficient	0	0	0
English Comprehension			
adequate	8	6	2
somewhat adequate	2	2	2
weak	0	0	0
little	0	0	0
Spoken English			
adequate	8	6	1
somewhat adequate	2	2	2
weak	0	0	1
little	0	0	0
Written English			
adequate	8	6	2
somewhat adequate	2	2	2
weak	0	0	0
little	0	0	0
Totals	10	8	4

model 4, the bilingual model, the indication here is that model 2 offers the possibility for success in such communities. In areas that have few bilingual vocational teachers, that have many different home languages to consider, or that cannot for some other reason consider the bilingual model, the ESL-vocational tandem program may well be the best solution to meet effectively the needs of special populations requiring manpower training and language support.

Notes

1. Persons fourteen years of age and older are considered to be from a minority language group if their mother tongue is not English; persons under fourteen are considered minority language if a non-English language is spoken in the household.
2. National Center for Education Statistics, "Geographic Distribution, Nativity, and Age Distribution of Language Minorities in the U.S.: Spring 1976," *NCES Bulletin 78-134* (August 22, 1978).
3. The author does not specify what type of reliability is being reported.
4. D. Ilyin, *Ilyin Oral Interview Manual* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1978), p. 14.
5. Correlation between Forms A and B is reported as .93.
6. A study conducted by the Department of Economic and Employment Development of the City of San Antonio found that this program was the most cost effective of eleven programs analyzed (Department of Economic and Employment Development, *Jobs for the Alamo Area: Agency Performance*, San Antonio: DEED, 1980).

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CHAPTER 13

Vocational Education: Programs and Resources for Limited-English-Proficient Students

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Introduction

Since 1963, federal vocational education legislation has emphasized a concern that states provide the special services and programs needed by disadvantaged and handicapped students to achieve success in vocational education. Each revision of the federal vocational education legislation has used stronger language to emphasize this priority. The Bilingual Vocational Training (BVT) program was originally authorized by the Vocational Education Act (VEA) of 1963, Part B, Subpart 3 as amended. In 1974 Congress created a discretionary program for bilingual vocational training for limited-English-speaking persons, as Part J of the VEA.

The BVT program was authorized in recognition of the acute problem facing many persons in the United States whose efforts to profit from vocational education may be restricted because they come from environments where the dominant language is other than English and they have limited English-speaking proficiency. Thus, the purposes of the BVT program are (1) to provide bilingual vocational training for persons who are unemployed or underemployed and who are unable to profit from regular vocational training given solely in English; (2) to provide training programs to meet the shortage of instructors possessing both the job knowledge and skills and the dual language capabilities required to deliver bilingual vocational training; and (3) to develop instructional materials, methods, or techniques for bilingual vocational training.

The Bilingual Vocational Training program is advance funded. From fiscal years 1975 to 1979 the annual appropriation for the program was $2.8 million. In FY 1980 the appropriation was $4.8 million and in FY 1981, $3.96 million. In school year 1981-82, fifteen bilingual vocational training projects under Subpart 3 trained 1,372 persons of limited English-speaking proficiency for employment in recognized occupations including food services, building maintenance and repairs, construction, data entry, air conditioning repair, microcomputer technology, bookkeeping, and as dental assistants and food and kitchen managers. Projects are located in eight states and serve six different language groups. Seven instructor training programs under Subpart 3 are currently in operation to provide preservice and inservice training for about 268 teachers and staff. These projects are described at the end of this chapter.

Funding and Target Populations

There are no precise data available now on how many persons with limited English-speaking ability need training or assistance to improve their employability or to upgrade their skills. Data available from the Survey of Income and Education (SIE) conducted by the Bureau of the Census in the spring of 1976 indicate that twenty-eight million persons in the United States have mother tongues other than English and live in households in which languages other than English are spoken. The analysis of these data by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) shows that of this group, 20,730,000 persons of non-English-speaking background are nineteen years or older (NCES, 1978). A different survey being conducted by the Office of Civil Rights should yield more complete data.

At the reauthorization hearings held in October and November 1981, witnesses testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee's Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education strongly suggested the continuation of the program and warned against consolidation of activities into block grants to the states.

Ron Hall, chief of the Policy, Coordination, and Services Unit of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) representing the Department of Education, indicated that the administration was considering a number of strategies for reorganizing vocational programs (as part of reauthorization of the Vocational Education Act [VEA]), but he said no decisions have been made regarding the placement of the bilingual vocational programs in a block grant. Mary Galván, an educational consultant from Austin, Texas, who has done extensive work with projects across the country, urged that the program not be consolidated, saying, "If block grant funding comes about, I am not confident that the states would protect the money for bilingual vocational training." She pointed out that the program has been a success, as the placement rate for its participants is 95 percent. She cited as an example the program at Miami Dade College where all 100 people were placed in jobs after graduation. "And the success of our programs has led to promotions for many of our graduates within a year of hiring," she said. She also indicated that those trained by the program pay back in taxes within two years what the government spent for their training (*Department of Education Weekly*, October 19, 1981).

However, President Reagan, in his proposed FY 1983 budget, wanted to eliminate the discretionary bilingual vocational training program. He also suggested placing all vocational education programs into a block grant.

Effectiveness of Bilingual Vocational Training

Three studies prepared under contract for the Department of Education, and a report by the Commissioner of Education and the Secretary of Labor to the president and the Congress in August 1978, provide data on the effectiveness of this program. The contracted studies are:

- *Assessing Successful Strategies in Bilingual Vocational Training Programs,* InterAmerica Research Associates, Rosslyn, Virginia, March 1981.
- *Evaluation of the Status and Effects of Bilingual Vocational Training,* Kirschner Associates, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 1980.
- *Assessment of Bilingual Vocational Training,* Kirschner Associates, Albuquerque, New Mexico, August 1976.

Some of the findings of these reports and studies include:

- The unemployment rate of program graduates was reduced.
- Trainees found jobs in areas other than the ones they were trained in. This may be indicative of improvement in other factors such as greater ability to speak or understand English or improved access to employment opportunities.
- The trainees' ratio of pretraining to posttraining earnings improved.

State-Administered Vocational Education Programs for the Disadvantaged

In the 1976 amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963, Congress not only continued the discretionary programs for limited-English-speaking persons, but also provided that the state serve limited-English-speaking persons under the "20 percent set aside." Section 110 (b) of the VEA requires every state receiving funds from the federal government for the purpose of providing vocational education to set aside a minimum of 20 percent of these funds for persons who are described as "disadvantaged." Of these set-aside funds, states must use, for limited-English-speaking persons, a minimum portion equal to the ratio of the LEP population between fifteen and twenty-four years of age to the general population of the same age. VEA also requires that the funds be matched with state or local funds.

The purpose of these special funds is to provide programs or services that will enable the students to succeed in a traditional vocational education program. Included would be language interpreters, teacher aides, bilingual instruction that is vocationally oriented, remedial academic instruction, special materials and equipment, and staff orientation.

Findings of Vocational Education Program Study

In the spring of 1981, the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) contacted 200 vocational programs nationwide. These programs were identified by the state vocational education coordinators as serving the limited-English-proficient (LEP) population.

The purpose of gathering data was to obtain information from the projects and to disseminate it to others already working with LEP populations or planning to provide services to them. The information was obtained by sending a data collection instrument to 200 projects, requesting such information as the type of project, language groups served, program characteristics, and information on materials and tests used; only 30 of these projects returned the completed forms.

One of the problems encountered was that the states with larger minority language populations were unable to identify specific projects serving the limited-English-speaking population since the LEP students were being served in all the schools, wherever these students happened to be. The services provided were bilingual resource teachers and resource materials. State education agencies (SEAs) reimburse the schools that provide these special services to limited English speakers. Some states indicated that they were unable to identify the LEP students, so they could not provide any services to them.

Assessment of NCBE User Needs

Since 1978, NCBE has been receiving vocational education information requests from its users. These requests can be classified into the following broad categories:

1. General information requests:
    - legislation
    - program statistics
    - funding
    - project information
2. Research:
    - program models
    - successful practices
    - program evaluation
3. Resources and materials:
    - bilingual materials in various skill areas

- teachers with knowledge of vocational skills and minority language backgrounds
- vocational interest measures
- language proficiency tests

In order to provide users with information on all of the abovementioned areas, NCBE has developed an information packet on bilingual vocational programs which is updated regularly. NCBE has established contacts with vocational and adult education divisions of the Department of Education and with the Bilingual Vocational Training program in the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs. These contacts enable NCBE to obtain the most current information in the areas of legislation and project awards, which it disseminates to its users. (To obtain information about this and other services, contact the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1555 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 605, Rosslyn, Virginia 22209, (703) 522-0710/(800) 336-4560 toll free.)

Selected List of Bilingual Vocational Training Programs 1981-1982

- The University of California at Los Angeles provides trainees who have a wide variety of primary languages and cultural backgrounds with the paraprofessional skills needed to become dental assistants.
- City College of New York trains Hispanic youth and adults with limited English-speaking proficiency in building maintenance skills. At the same time this program provides the basic job skills and employment opportunities for occupational advancement.
- The Boston Indian Council teaches electronic assembly skills to forty-two Indians whose native language is Micmac.
- In California, the bilingual vocational education program for Asians and Spanish speakers, cosponsored by Asians for Job Opportunities in Berkeley, Inc. and Adelante, Inc., is designed to provide job-related English, clerical, and word-processing skills to unemployed and underemployed limited-English-speaking clients.
- In Oklahoma, a bilingual vocational training program for limited-English-speaking Cherokee trainees prepares them to perform adequately in an environment requiring English-language skills. The training is for persons who have already entered the job market but desire training to achieve year-round employment and to expand their range of skills.

- The China Institute in America, Inc., in New York offers training in cooking and restaurant work for limited-English-speaking persons. The twofold purpose is to furnish suitable job skills to trainees and to teach them basic English.
- The Hispanic Women's Center in New York develops or upgrades marketable entry-level microcomputer skills in persons of Hispanic origin (focusing on women).
- A program in Los Angeles trains Korean Americans to receive accounting assistance with micro- and minicomputer skills.
- A bilingual vocational training project in Stanford, Connecticut develops clerical and machine operation skills in out-of-school Hispanics who have difficulty speaking or learning English.
- Bronx Community College provides bilingual vocational training in housing maintenance, housing management, and boiler maintenance and repairs. The primary objective of this program is to provide adults of limited English-speaking proficiency with an opportunity to acquire the necessary skills, technical as well as verbal, needed to qualify for employment as superintendents, housing managers, and entry-level boiler repair specialists.
- The Bilingual Air Conditioning and Heating Training Program at Houston Community College trains participants to install and repair air conditioning and heating systems.
- Chinatown Manpower Projects, Inc., in New York provides marketable skills and adequate business English communication training to Chinese- and Korean-speaking immigrants and refugees.
- Metropolitan State College in Colorado provides trainees with the necessary skills in the areas of business, health services, and hotel and restaurant services.
- In New York, Solidaridad Humana, Inc., trains its participants in the areas of data entry-keypunch, typing, and vocational English as a second language.

Bilingual Vocational Instructor Training Programs

- San Jose City College provides a one-year vocational teacher training course for Spanish-speaking persons presently employed in industry, enabling them to teach vocational skills to adults in English and Spanish.
- Los Angeles Unified School District and California State University at Los Angeles train instructors in Spanish, Chinese,

and Japanese. The vocational areas to be emphasized are medical-dental health, machine shop, clerical, automotive, electronics, and welding.

- The Bilingual Vocational Instructor Training program of the University of San Francisco provides inservice training to Spanish-, Chinese-, and Vietnamese-speaking vocational instructors and counselors. This program includes formal training in the theory and practice of vocational education, bilingual teaching methodology, job counseling and guidance, and the teaching of vocational skills.
- Florida International University provides instruction and technical assistance to participants to develop and implement effective bilingual vocational instruction programs.
- New York University trains instructors who combine vocational and ESL teaching abilities with dual language capability and a knowledge of the theory and practice of bilingual education.
- Montana State University trains vocational instructors to work with persons of limited English-speaking proficiency.
- California State University at Long Beach retrains vocational instructors to become bilingual vocational instructors through an interdisciplinary inservice training curriculum.
- Everett Community College in Washington provides Indochinese refugees with bilingual vocational education combined with intensive specific English and job-oriented classes.

Projects to Develop Materials, Methods, and Techniques

- InterAmerica Research Associates, Inc., of Rosslyn, Virginia, has developed a handbook containing a nontechnical presentation of how computer analysis of job-relevant text materials can be used in ESL instruction for bilingual vocational training programs.
- L. Miranda and Associates, of Bethesda, Maryland, has conducted a study to identify occupations in which a language other than English is an asset. The resulting monograph will provide information on requirements for entry into fifteen occupations, the skills needed, options for advancement, the background knowledge and experience needed to obtain employment, and related information so that promising employment opportunities for persons of limited English-speaking proficiency can be highlighted for possible program implementation.

- Kirschner Associates, Inc., of Washington, D.C. has conducted a study to ascertain successful strategies for outreach services in BVT programs. The study delineates practices that support recruitment, job placement, and related ancillary activities so that BVT projects can take advantage of available services from outside agencies and organizations in order to augment or save scarce federal funds.

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CHAPTER 14

Teaching the Limited-English-Proficient Adult: A Microcounseling Approach

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During the past fifteen years, the educational community has made formidable progress in providing minority language *children* with a more equitable and effective educational experience. Bilingual elementary personnel have been trained, with the assistance of federal and state grants; bilingual education materials, methods, and assessment instruments have been developed for primary school children; and the public has been somewhat sensitized to the unique problems and needs of limited-English-proficient (LEP) children.

In contrast, the needs of another minority language group in the United States have been seriously neglected. These are the needs of limited-English-proficient older youth and adults. This neglect is seen most obviously in English as a second language (ESL) classes and in vocational-technical programs.

ESL classes, for example, have typically catered to the "advantaged" student from overseas who comes to the United States temporarily to prepare for a professional career in business or engineering. English for special purposes (ESP) and English for science and technology (EST) textbooks have been created to assist this student who is enrolled in or bound for a U.S institution of higher education.

The few ESL courses that do exist in adult education programs often use outdated approaches which require students to repeat teacher-initiated utterances, instead of facilitating students to acquire the language skills needed to survive in U.S. society and to function on a job.

Vocational education programs have also ignored the needs of limited-English-proficient adults, by requiring sufficient proficiency in English before students can begin vocational training. Since inexpensive and effective ways to learn English are often unavailable, LEP adults face a good deal of discouragement, frustration, and disappointment.

Both ESL and vocational instructors often lack the confidence and skills to effectively educate and train LEP adults who are disadvantaged, unemployed, or underemployed. Although bilingual vocational training (BVT) programs and vocational English as a second language (VESL) programs have begun to address the needs of LEP adults, few techniques or materials have been developed to provide them with the basic language skills, job training, and interpersonal communication skills that they so urgently need.

The technology of a somewhat modified microcounseling approach can provide teachers — be they ESL, vocational, or adult educational teachers — with a structured and systematic technique that allows the development of language vocational and interpersonal skills and of cultural awareness for these adult students.

Microcounseling

Microcounseling is a form of microtraining. The generic term, microtraining, refers to a general training format that is characterized by the development of specific, concrete skills through observation, practice, and feedback in a psychologically safe learning environment. Positive supervision is also an essential component of microtraining. Microtraining exists in a number of forms such as microteaching (Allen, 1967), which is used to help pre- and inservice teachers-in-training develop specific teaching skills. Microsupervision (Chase, Doty, and Cotrel, 1971) uses the microtraining format to teach supervisory conference skills. Microcoordination (Harrington, 1970) uses the microtraining format to teach job placement skills to cooperative vocational education coordinators. Of interest to teachers of LEP adults is microcounseling (Ivey et al., 1968), which extends the microtraining format to the development of a large variety of effective interpersonal skills.

Microcounseling evolved from attempts to demystify the counselor education process. Counselor educators had for years been attempting to teach counselor trainees essential but elusive concepts such as "warmth" and "empathy." Success was limited because although everyone knew what was meant by these terms, it was difficult to define them operationally; that is, it was easy to identify a counselor who was being warm and empathetic, but difficult to identify exactly why. It was therefore exceedingly difficult to help trainees learn and use these elusive concepts. Ivey and his colleagues (1968) applied a component-skills approach to the interviewing process. This behavioral analysis of one of the important aspects of counseling resulted in the identification and definition in performance terms of a number of discrete behaviors which are component skills of effective interpersonal communication. From this initial research, a conceptual framework and technology evolved that have enabled Ivey and others to extend microcounseling far beyond counselor education and to define behaviorally other useful interpersonal skills.

Other applications of microcounseling include improving the interpersonal skills of psychiatric patients (Ivey, 1973). Aldridge and Ivey (1975) demonstrated that junior high school students could be taught specific microcounseling skills as easily as adults. Bradley (1977) used microcounseling training as a direct, systematic interpersonal skills development program for inner-city youth. A variety of other applications can be found in Ivey and Authier (1978).

Although originally designed for trainers to work on a one-to-one basis with trainees, this method proved to be impractical for those with large numbers of students. Consequently, a second approach was developed which treats student-trainees on a groupwide basis.

The Group Microcounseling Format

There are five parts to a group microcounseling exercise. The topic for the following exercise is "The Job Interview."

1. **Introduction by the teacher.** The students are informed that they are working on how to participate in a job interview. An important part of a successful interview is listening to the interviewer and conveying to the interviewer that you are listening. Students are told that only this aspect of interpersonal communication should be considered, and not to worry about other dimensions for the time being. Their only goal then is to convey to someone that they are listening.
2. **Training.** The teacher asks for volunteers to role play an employment interview. The job applicant is to "ham it up" and do everything *wrong* in terms of listening. By requiring the students to act as inappropriately as possible, they are placed in a "no lose" situation. That is, if students convey very well that they are *not* listening, the students will be successful in terms of the exercise. If, on the other hand, students do not convey this well, it will only show that they are good listeners. In addition, a good deal of humor is injected into the exercise by having students first act inappropriately. The interviewer is to play it "straight" and be as business-like as possible. The class is divided into groups of six. They observe the role-played interaction (three to five minutes is suitable for making the point), and then make lists of what the job applicant "did wrong." They then discuss and share their lists with the entire class.
3. **Reinforcement.** A mini-lecture by the teacher follows, which emphasizes the key points of listening as demonstrated and discussed in the role-playing session above (e.g., eye contact, relaxed posture, and verbal following — no topic jump). The microcounseling manual *Attending Behavior* (Ivey et al., 1968) is sometimes used to supplement the lecture.
4. **Developing the model.** Another role play is held in which the job applicant does a more effective job (acts correctly). The other students observe and note the differences between the two sessions.
5. **Practice.** Students then practice this exercise in pairs within their groups so that the concept of attending behavior (listening) is experientially learned. Sometimes students

practice in triads with the third person acting as observer-evaluator.

The Skills of Microcounseling

Numerous skills have been identified and field tested within the microcounseling framework. These skills have been organized into a number of broad categories or clusters. First, there are the beginning skills of effective interpersonal communication: *attending behavior*, *open questions*, and *minimal encouragement to talk*. These skills help the learner to convey interest as well as to get the other person to talk and express her or himself more fully. They enable the learner to avoid disastrous early attempts at interpersonal communication. Although basic, these skills are essential for every person who wants to communicate with others. Indeed, experienced professionals, including teachers, also benefit from and welcome systematic microcounseling training in these basic skills.

Another cluster consists of selective listening skills, including *reflection of feeling*, *paraphrasing*, and *summarization*. These skills enable the learner to communicate understanding of affect as well as content of the other person's words. They also assure that both parties have the same understanding of what is being said. The need for these skills in numerous situations is obvious.

Some of the advanced skills include *giving directions*, *expressing content*, *expressing feeling*, *self-disclosure*, *interpretation*, and *direct mutual communication*. Each of these microcounseling skills is described in a brief manual (Ivey and Authier, 1978). These manuals are invaluable tools for the teacher who wants to describe microcounseling skills operationally to students.

Teachers of LEP adults may not consider every microcounseling skill appropriate to the needs of their students. That is as it should be. Microcounseling is an open system. One teacher might consider attending behavior as a critical need for their students and incorporate attending behavior into the curriculum via microcounseling. Another teacher might decide to include selective listening skills as well as attending behavior. Teachers could also elect to modify the existing microcounseling manuals to identify their own style. Each teacher would have an individualized, yet systematic approach to teaching the concrete behavior that has been identified as essential. Teachers are encouraged to select those skills considered to be most important in a particular setting. In an ESL class, these settings might include participating in an employment interview or ordering meals in a restaurant. In a vocational class, the settings might include greeting a patron or taking an order. Regardless of the specific skills or settings considered to be most appropriate for effective functioning, the systematic technology of microcounseling may be used efficiently.

Microcounseling for the LEP Student

Because LEP students often lack the vocabulary, grammar, and sociocultural skills necessary to carry out adequate conversations in English, the microcounseling approach is modified to include three preliminary language and culture components. The topic is again "The Job Interview" and the interpersonal skill to be emphasized is again attending behavior.

1. **Vocabulary practice.** The teacher analyzes the situation to be practiced (a job interview) and identifies the vocabulary and expressions necessary to carry out an adequate conversation. These are presented and explained to the students. **Examples:** Application, interview, employer, employee, personnel, qualification, hired, fired, laid off, résumé, references, position, opening, salary, overtime, union dues, per month, per hour, wage, to earn, to make, sick leave, to bring home, after taxes.
2. **Grammar practice.** The teacher again analyzes the situation to be practiced and identifies the most common questions and statements used in an interview situation. For example, an employer would commonly ask questions like:

   "Have you ever repaired engines like this?"
   "Where else have you been a mechanic?"
   "How long have you been a mechanic?"

   The teacher knows that the students should have a good listening comprehension of yes/no and information (what, where, who, etc.) questions. After the students can understand these questions, they should be taught how to verbalize responses. Most responses will refer to past or continuous activity, such as:

   "Yes, I have," or "No, I haven't."
   "I've repaired lots of engines like this."
   or
   "I was a mechanic for two years."
   "I've been a mechanic for two years."
   or
   "I was a mechanic in Cuba for two years."

The teacher may also want to teach the students how to ask questions of the employer. These might refer to the the future, such as:

"When do I begin work?"
"Will I work weekends?"
"Will I be helping the mechanic?"

3. **Culture training.** The teacher identifies the appropriate behavior in a job interview situation. It is important not to overwhelm the students with information since they already have language skills to worry about. Since it has been deemed important in our culture to demonstrate attending behavior during a job interview, the students are explicitly told how to show an employer that they are listening. The teacher may find it useful to contrast any behavioral differences between the U.S and the students' home cultures. The teacher may also wish to use the students' native languages here since the focus now is on cultural information and not language.

Example:

	Appropriate Attending Behavior	Inappropriate Attending Behavior
a.	sitting with relaxed but attentive posture	slouching, bending over, or sitting too rigidly
b.	head facing interviewer	head down, away, or toward ceiling
c.	looking in employer's eyes occasionally	never/always looking in employer's eyes
d.	sticking to the topic, recognizing cues to respond	topic jumping, interrupting

4. **Introduction.** The teacher explains that the students are going to practice participating in a job interview and that it is important for them to convey to the interviewer that they are listening. This introduction may be carried out in English or in the students' home languages. The teacher may wish to quickly review some of the characteristics of appropriate attending behavior.

5. **Training.** The teacher selects volunteers to role play an employment interview. Students playing the part of the applicant are told to play their roles as inappropriately as possible. The class is divided into small groups. After observing the role-playing session for three to five minutes, each group is to come up with a list of everything the job applicant "did wrong." The students should be encouraged to listen for content and previously identified kinesic behavior, not for grammatical perfection.

6. **Reinforcement.** The teacher presents a brief review of the key points of listening as demonstrated and discussed in the role-playing session above (e.g., eye contact, posture, and verbal following). Although use of English should be strongly encouraged, the teacher may wish to use the students' native languages on occasion to make a point clear.
7. **Developing the model.** The students hold another role play in which the job applicant performs correctly. The other students observe and note the differences between the two sessions.
8. **Practice.** Students are told to practice this exercise in pairs within their groups so that the concept of attending behavior is learned experientially. Students may practice in threesomes with the third party acting as observer-evaluator. Perhaps the third person would be someone who lacked the language skills or confidence to participate orally in the beginning.

Conclusion

Microcounseling as an approach for developing interpersonal communication skills is used in many fields. By adapting the microcounseling format to include vocabulary, structure, and culture components, we, too, can use this approach to help limited-English-proficient adults communicate effectively.

The flexible format of microcounseling can be used in ESL classes, vocational and adult education programs, bilingual vocational training programs, and vocational English as a second language programs. It is a humanistic approach which does not require student literacy, nor does it require a vocational education instructor to be an English language expert. It can help students develop language, culture, basic survival, interpersonal communication, and vocational skills. Equally important, the role-playing activities are motivating and students can experience success regardless of their degree of grammatical accuracy in English. This success can then lead to a more generalized feeling of self-confidence. Microcounseling is an effective way to address the needs of our often neglected limited-English-proficient adults.

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CHAPTER 15

Linguistic Interferences in Acquisition of English as a Second Language for Korean Limited-English-Proficient Students

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Introduction

In this article, selective and pragmatic interferences in acquisition of English as a second language (ESL) for Korean students with limited English proficiency are analyzed at the four linguistic levels of phonology, lexicon, syntax, and culture. The analysis is selective in the sense that only certain major interferences between the two languages are arbitrarily chosen for discussion. It is pragmatic in the sense that it is designed to be of practical help to the classroom teacher. Thus, we will not concern ourselves with the theoretical niceties of contrastive analysis. We will rather concern ourselves with actual or potential learning or teaching problems that might arise from the interferences.

This analysis is ESL specific in the sense that it focuses on interferences that might pose problems for Korean learners of English as a second language. Hence, this analysis is unidirectional. Children are affected by the language rules of their first language and tend to transpose many of the language rules and concepts into English. A bilingual teacher working closely with an ESL component can capitalize on the structural differences of the two languages and use them as instructional tools rather than linguistic interferences. If bilingual teachers become more aware of the degree to which these contrasts interfere with a smooth transition, they can use the differences in their teaching rather than respond to the differences as hurdles. Teachers will then fully understand reasons for errors in oral English, confusion in English silent reading, techniques for making a more accurate transition into speaking English, and hierarchies with which to clarify the language differences.

The following expository notes are necessary for the phonetic symbols used in transcribing cited Korean words or sounds. Superscript *h* will indicate that the sound in question is aspirated (e.g., p^h, t^h, k^h, ch^h). A germinate will indicate a fortis glottalized consonant (e.g., *pp, kk, chch*). A plain consonant symbol will indicate that the obstruent consonant is an unaspirated lenis variety (e.g., *p, t, k, ch*). *Ae* will indicate that the vowel in question is roughly equivalent to the English vowel as in "bad" or "bag."

Phonological Interferences

Phonological interferences between the two languages are discussed, especially as they relate to (1) individual sounds (or phonemes), (2) sounds (or phonemes) in sequence, and (3) stress and intonation.

Individual Sounds

Voiceless versus Voiced Obstruents. The English consonants, except for nasals and liquids, are called obstruents. The English obstruents come in pairs, where each pair consists of a voiceless obstruent and its voiced counterpart. Thus English has such pairs as *p/b, t/d, k/g, ch/j,* and *s/z.*

On the other hand, Korean does not have corresponding obstruent pairs. Instead, Korean has triads or triplets of voiceless obstruents, where each triplet consists of a lenis (soft) voiceless obstruent, its aspirated counterpart, and its fortis (hard) "glottalized" counterpart. Thus, Korean has such triplets as $p/p^h/pp$, $t/t^h/tt$, $k/k^h/kk$, and $ch/ch^h/chch$. The only exception here is the pair *s/ss*, where there is no aspirated version of the obstruent in question.

We may say that the lenis obstruent in Korean is the closest to the voiced obstruent in English, while the aspirated obstruent in Korean is the closest to the voiceless obstruent in English. As an example, let us consider the triplet $p/p^h/pp$ in Korean and the pair *p/p* in English. Here the Korean *p* is the closest to the English *b* while the Korean p^h is the closest to the English *p*.

As a result, Korean students often use lenis obstruents in Korean for voiced obstruents in English. They also use aspirated obstruents in Korean for voiceless obstruents in English. Thus they often say "tik" for "dig," "tok" for "dog," "kot" for "god," and so on. Korean learners tend to automatically transfer aspirated Korean obstruents for voiceless English obstruents. We may note that the English *p, t,* and *k* are typically aspirated immediately before a stressed vowel while they are not or are very weakly aspirated elsewhere. They are typically unaspirated immediately after *s* as in "star," "spin," or "skin." The main problem for Korean learners lies in their tendency to aspirate all voiceless stops in English regardless of their position. Thus they often aspirate *t, p,* and *k*, even where they should not be aspirated, for example, even after *s* as in "speak," "steam," and "skate."

p versus f. English has the *p/f* distinction while Korean does not. Consequently, Korean learners often have difficulty in distinguishing between these two English sounds. Thus they often find it hard to discriminate between "pine" and "fine," "pile" and "file," "leap" and "leaf," "pat" and "fat," "lap" and "laugh," or "cup" and "cuff."

Since Korean does not have *f* and since p^h happens to be the closest thing that Korean has to the English *f*, Korean learners often use the Korean p^h for the English *f*. Thus they often say "pine" for "fine," "pile" for "file," "pound" for "found," "pour" for "four," "pin" for "fin," "pan" for "fan," "leap" for "leaf," "pat" for "fat," "lap" for "laugh," "cup" for "cuff," or "opt" for "oft." Since they also often transfer p^h for the English *p*, the *pf* contrast is often lost entirely in their English.

b versus v. English has the *b/v* distinction while Korean does not. As a result, Korean learners often have difficulty in hearing the difference between these two English sounds. They often find it hard to discriminate between "ban" and "van," "bow" and "vow," "bat" and "vat," "bet" and "vet," "curb" and "curve," "robe" and "rove," and so on.

Since Korean does not have *v* and the Korean *p* is the closest to the English *v*, Korean learners often use the Korean *p* for the English *v*. Thus they often say "pow" for "vow," "pet" for "vet," "rope" for "rove," and so on.

Korean does not have *b* and since *p* is the closest thing Korean has to the English b, so Korean learners often use the Korean *p* for the English *b*. They often say "pan" for "ban," "pack" for "back," "prick" for "brick," "cap" for "cab," or "cup" for "cub."

Since Korean learners often use the Korean *p* for both *b* and *v* in English, the *b/v* contrast is often lost in their English.

s versus z. English has the *s/z* distinction while Korean does not. However, Korean learners do not seem to have difficulty hearing the difference between the two sounds, probably because one is distinctly voiced while the other is distinctly voiceless.

Because Korean does not have *z*, and since the Korean *s* is preempted for the English *s*, and further since *ch* is the closest thing left to *z*, Korean learners often transfer the Korean *ch* to the English *z*. As a result, they often say "chipper" for "zipper," "chest" for "zest," "chew" for "zoo," and so on.

Note here that the Korean *ch* is often transferred for the English *j*, too. The result is that Korean learners often make no distinction between *z* and *j* in English.

l versus r. English has the *l/r* contrast while Korean does not. The result is that Korean learners often have difficulty in hearing the difference between these two English sounds. Thus they often cannot discriminate "light" from "right," "load" from "road," "lead" for "read," "lid" from "rid," "led" from "red," "low" from "row," "lay" from "ray," "cloud" from "crowd," for example.

Furthermore, since Korean has one sound that is at the same time similar to the English *l* and *r*, Korean learners often transfer this in-between sound to both *l* and *r* in English. The result is that the *l/r* distinction is often lost or mixed up in their English.

th. The English *th*, either voiced or voiceless, is nonexistent in Korean. As such, it is often difficult for Korean learners to learn to use.

S is the closest thing Korean has to the English voiceless *th*, and Korean learners often use the Korean *s* for the voiceless English *th*.

Thus they often say "sin" for "thin," "sing" for "thing," "sree" for "three," "srow" for "throw," "sief" for "thief," and so on.

It is interesting that they also often have difficulty in hearing the difference between *s* and the voiceless *th* in English. Thus they often find it hard to tell "sick" from "thick," "sin" from "thin," "sigh" from "thigh," and so on.

Since *t* is the closest thing Korean has to the voiced English *th*, Korean learners often use their *t* for the voiced English *th*. Thus they will say "tis" for "this," "tem" for "them," "tat" for "that," and "tey" for "they."

They also often find it hard to hear the difference between the voiced *th* and *d*, which they often identify with the Korean *t*. Thus they often have difficulty in discriminating between "den" and "then," "does" and "thus," and so on.

Short versus Long i. The contrast between the short and long *i* is lost in some dialects of Korean and is fast disappearing in most dialects of Korean. On the other hand, the contrast between the long and the short *i* is fairly productive in English, as is attested by such word pairs as "beat/bit," "heat/hit," "seat/sit," "eat/it," "lead/lid," and "heed/hid."

Korean learners in whose dialects of Korean the contrast between the long and short *i* is already lost find it difficult to hear the difference between the two varieties of *i* in English. They also find it hard to produce the two varieties of *i* in English correctly.

Thus they often find it hard to hear the difference between "beat" and "bit," "heat" and "hit," "reach" and "rich," and so on. They also find it hard to correctly pronounce, for example, "beat" as opposed to "bit," "eat" as opposed to "it," "read" as opposed to "rid."

Short versus Long u. Like the distinction between the long and short *i*, the distinction between the long and short *u* is lost in most dialects of Korean. On the other hand, this distinction is alive in English.

As a result, Korean learners often have difficulty in hearing the difference between the short and long *u* in English. Thus they often find it hard to tell "Luke" from "look." They also often fail to productively discriminate between the long and short *u*. Thus in their pronunciation of English, no difference is discernible between "Luke" and "look," for example.

e versus ae. The contrast between *e* as in "met" and *ae* as in "mat" is lost in many of the dialects spoken in South Korea today. Thus Korean learners often find it difficult to hear the difference between these two sounds in English. They also find it hard to discriminate productively between these two sounds when they speak English. Thus they often have difficulty in telling "bed" from "bad," "set" from "sat," "peck" from "pack," "bet" from "bat," and "pet" from "pat."

Open and Closed o. English makes the distinction between the open and closed *o* (i.e., between *o* as in "brought" and *o* as in "boat"). No comparable distinction is found in Korean. Thus Korean learners often find it hard to hear the difference between the two vowels or to discriminate productively between the two vowels. In other words, they often find it difficult to discriminate, both productively and receptively, between "coat" and "caught," "boat" and "bought," and so on.

Sound in Sequence

Consonant Clusters. English abounds in consonant clusters. On the other hand, Korean allows only a few consonant clusters. Korean allows no word-initial consonant clusters while it allows a limited number of clusters word medially and word finally. Of the allowed clusters, those that occur word finally appear to be disappearing.

Thus Korean learners often have difficulty with English consonant clusters, especially when they occur word initially or word finally. When they produce a consonant cluster, they often insert a barred *i* (or ɨ) between the consonants in the cluster. In other words, they tend to use the barred *i* to decluster the cluster. Thus they often say "sɨtay" for "stay," "sɨtɨrike" for "strike," "misɨt" for "mist," and so on.

Note that this insertion of ɨ is only natural, because the standard (canonical) syllable in Korean takes the form of (C)V(C) and because the least salient vowel in Korean is ɨ. Note that (C)V(C) here means that a standard Korean syllable consists of an optional initial consonant, an obligatory vowel, and an optional final consonant.

Thus we may say that Korean learners often restructure the English consonant clusters in such a way as to make them conform to standard Korean syllable structure by using the least salient Korean vowel.

n + l Sequence. In Korean, *n* becomes *l* when it is followed immediately by an *l*. Korean learners often transfer this to English. Thus they often mispronounce "only" as "olly," "manly" and "mally," or "keenly" as "kelly." Recall that the Korean *l* is similar to both *l* and *r* in English. This may explain why Korean learners often mispronounce the English *n* + *r* sequence as something like *l* + *l*, i.e., why they often mispronounce "Henry" as "Helly," "weaponry" as "weapolly," "green robe" as "greel lobe," "cotton robe" as "cottol lobe," and so on.

p/t/k + m/n Sequence. In Korean, $p/p^h/pp$, $t/t^h/tt$, and $k/k^h/kk$ become *m*, *n*, and *ŋ* respectively, when they are followed immediately by *m* or *n*. Korean learners often transfer this nasalization rule to English. Thus they often mispronounce "Kick Mary" as "King Mary," "Take me with you" as "Tayng me with you," "Hug me" as "Hung me," "I dig music" as "I ding music," "Beat Mary" as "Bean Mary," "I cut myself" as "I cun myself," "He hit me" as "He hin me," "He bade me go" as "He bane me go," "Keep me company" as "Keem me company," "Deep mines" as "Deem mines," "Don't rub my hair" as "Don't rum my hair," or "Rob Mike" as "Rom Mike."

m/ŋ + l Sequence. In Korean, *fl* becomes *n* when it immediately follows either *m* or *ŋ*. Korean learners often apply this nasalization rule when they speak English. Thus they often mispronounce "Hamlet" as "Hamnet," "kingly" as "kingny" "home run" as "home nun," "long run" as "long nun," "King Lear" as "King Near," or "the same lady" as "the same nady."

n-Insertion. In Korean, *n* is often inserted between two words if the first word ends in *p/p*^{h}*/pp, t/t*^{h}*/tt, k/k*^{h}*/kk, m, n,* or *ŋ* and if the second word begins with *i* or *y*. Korean learners often transfer this rule on *n*-insertion when they speak English. Thus they often mispronounce "Keep your fingers crossed" as "Keem nyour fingers crossed," "Kick your dog" as "King nyour dog," "Get your gun" as "Gen nyour gun," "Sing your song" as "Sing nyour song," "I have become your friend" as "I have become nyour friend," and so on.

n/s + i Sequence. In Korean, *n* and *s* become palatalized when they are followed immediately by *i*. In other words, when followed by *i*, *s* becomes *sh* as in "shy" while *n* becomes the kind that we have in the second syllable of such English words as "onion," "canyon," and "Bunyan."

Korean learners often transfer this rule of palatalization when they speak English. Thus they often pronounce "sin" as "shin," "sit" as "shit," "sick" as "shick," "sip" as "ship," "animal" as "añimal," "many" as "mañy," "any" as "añy," and so on. The symbol *ñ* designates the palatalized *n* such as that found in the second syllable of "onion."

w + u Sequence. The English sequence *wu* as in "woman" or "would" does not exist in Korean. The simple *u* without the preceding *w* is the closest thing Korean has to the English sequence in question. Thus Korean learners often transfer this simple *u* for the English sequence *wu*. As a result, they often mispronounce "woman" as "uman" or "ooman," "would" as "ud" or "ood," "wool" as "ul" or "ool," or "woo" as "u" or "oo."

Since Korean does not have the *wu/u* distinction of English, Korean learners often find it hard to hear the difference between *wu* and *u* in English. Thus they often have difficulty in telling "woos" from "ooze," "swoon" from "soon," and so on.

y + i Sequence. The English sequence *yi* as in "yeast" or "yield" does not exist in Korean. The simple *i* without the preceding *y* is the closest thing Korean has to the English *yi*. Thus Korean learners often transfer this simple *i* for the English *yi*. As a result, they often pronounce "yeast" as "east," "yield" as "eeld," "ye" as "ee," and so on.

Since Korean does not have the *yi/i* distinction of English, Korean learners often have difficulty in hearing the difference between *yi* and *i*. Thus they have troubie telling "yeast" from "east," for example.

Stress and Intonation

Stress. English is a stress-timed language in the sense that the time an English utterance takes depends upon the number of stressed syllables in the utterance in question. The following expressions, despite differences in length, take about the same amount of time to utter.

a. It's Bob.
b. It's Elizabeth.
c. It's Pennsylvania.
d. It's North Carolina.

On the other hand, Korean is a syllable-timed language in the sense that the time that a Korean utterance takes is determined by the number of syllables in the utterance in question. In this respect, Korean is very much like Japanese, Spanish, or Portuguese. For example, the following Korean utterances take different amounts of time to utter because they contain different numbers of syllables:

e. *Kaja* "Let's go."
f. *ppallɨkaja* "Let's go early."
g. *ppallichibɨrokaja* "Let's go home early."
h. *ppalliposɨtonɨrokaja* "Let's go to Boston early."

Note that every syllable in a syllable-timed language is about evenly stressed while only certain syllables are stressed in a stress-timed language. Thus certain syllables in a stress-timed language are unstressed or very weakly stressed.

The result is that Korean learners often transfer their syllable-timing habit to English. They often assign even stress to every syllable in an English utterance. This gives rise to the singsong-style English often spoken by Korean learners.

Stressed versus Unstressed Vowels in English. In English, stressed vowels are quite clearly and prominently enunciated while unstressed vowels are blurred or very faintly pronounced. Unstressed vowels in English are typically reduced to the barred *i* (i.e., ɨ) or schwa.

In contrast, there is no distinction in Korean between stressed and unstressed vowels because every vowel in an utterance receives about the same amount of stress. As a consequence, every vowel in a Korean utterance is uttered rather clearly and prominently.

Because of this native-language background, Korean learners often fail to blur (or reduce to the barred *i* or schwa) an unstressed vowel when they speak English.

Intonation. Probably because of syllable timing, i.e., because of the fact that every syllable is evenly stressed, Korean intonation may sound monotonous to native English speakers. In normal speech, there is little or no noteworthy rise and fall in pitch in the middle of a Korean utterance; the only significant rise and fall in pitch comes at the very end. The general rule is that the voice rises at the end of a yes/no question while it falls at the end of a sentence of a different type.

Because of this background, Korean learners often use a similar intonation when they speak English. This kind of intonation may jar the ears of native speakers of English.

Lexical Interferences

The lexicon is the most idiosyncratic part of any language. It also comprises more constituent elements than does any other linguistic level. For reasons such as these, languages may be expected to display more contrasts on the lexical level than on any other level. In fact, there are so many lexical contrasts between any two languages that it is extremely difficult or next to impossible to study them exhaustively. Thus the list of lexical contrasts that follows is bound to be highly fragmentary.

Korean Words with More than One English Equivalent

/məkta/ versus "eat," "drink," and "smoke." The Korean verb */məkta/* is ordinarily used in the sense of "eat." However, many Koreans use this verb in the sense of "drink" or even in the sense of "smoke." For these Koreans, it is perfectly natural to say such things as */kopʰilɨl + məkta/* "to eat coffee" or */tampelɨl + məkta/* "to eat a cigarette."

This may help explain why many Korean learners produce such un-English verb phrases as "eat wine," "eat water," "eat juice," "eat a cola," "eat a cigar," "eat a cigarette," "eat marijuana," and so on.

/hopak/ versus "pumpkin," "squash," and "zucchini." The Korean noun */hopak/* has three English equivalents as shown above. In the light of this, it may not be so surprising that Korean learners often find it hard to distinguish among the three English equivalents.

"Pumpkin" is the most common of the three equivalents here. Most Korean learners learn this word before they do the other two and associate it with the Korean */hopak/*. Until and unless they learn the other two words, they are bound to use "pumpkin" to refer to a squash or a zucchini. This should help explain why many Korean learners refer to a squash or a zucchini as a pumpkin.

/chʰa/ versus "car," "station wagon," "sedan," "pick up," "van," and "truck." The Korean noun */chʰa/* has many English equivalents. "Car" is the most common, and Korean learners tend to learn this equivalent before they do the rest.

The result is that, until and unless they learn to use the other equivalents here, they are likely to use "car" to refer to all of the many equivalents of */chʰa/*. This should explain why Korean learners often refer to all sorts of vehicles as simply a car.

/titta/ versus "hear" and "listen." Korean students often have difficulty in discriminating between the two English equivalents of */titta/*. "Hear" is the more common of the two words, and Korean learners tend to learn it before they do the other word and associate it with the Korean */titta/*. Thus until and unless they learn the other word, they are likely to use "hear" for "hear" as well as for "listen." For example, Korean learners tend to say, "I heard the recorded message" and "I listened to the recorded message" interchangeably.

/pota/ versus "see" and "look." "See" is the more common of the two equivalents of */pota/*, and it is likely that Korean learners learn it before they do the other word. Until and unless they learn to use "look" as well, they are likely to use "see" for both "see" and "look." This should explain why Korean learners are sometimes heard to say, for example, "You saw her" when they really want to say, "You looked at her."

/chʰachta/ versus "find" and "look for." "Find" is the more common of the two words here so that Korean learners tend to associate it first with the Korean */chʰachta/*. Until and unless they learn to use "look for" as well, they are likely to use "find" for both "find" and "look for." For example, Korean learners sometimes say, "They found John" when they really mean to say, "They looked for John."

/ppalli/ versus "early" and "quickly." The Korean adverb */ppalli/* has two English equivalents as shown here. Thus Korean learners often find it hard to discriminate between the two English equivalents, and often use "early" for "quickly/fast" and vice versa.

/ttuita/ versus "jump," "skip," "hop," and "leap." Since "jump" is the most common of the English equivalents here, Korean learners are likely to learn it before they do the other equivalents and associate it with the Korean */ttuita/*. Thus until and unless they learn the other equivalents, they are likely to use "jump" for the other equivalents, as well. This should help explain the tendency among Korean learners to use "jump" for all the English equivalents of */ttuita/*.

English Words with More than One Korean Equivalent

"Put on" versus /ipta/, /sinta/, /kkita/, ssita/, /chʰata/. The English verb "put on" or "wear," as in "Put on your coat" or "Wear your shoes," has five Korean equivalents. In Korean, the choice among the five verbs depends on the referent of the object noun that follows the

verb. Korean learners must get used to the fact that English uses only one verb "put on," or "wear" regardless of the referent of the object noun that follows the verb in question.

"Wash" versus /ppalta/, /ssissta/, and /takkta/. Which of the three Korean equivalents is used depends on the referent of the object noun that follows the verb. Korean learners must get accustomed to the fact that English uses only one verb regardless of the referent of the object noun in question.

"Wall" versus /tam/ and /pi k/. The English noun "wall" has two Korean equivalents. */pi k/* refers to the wall of a room or a hall while */tam/* refers to a different type of wall. Korean learners must get used to the fact that English does not make this distinction between different types of walls.

"Brother" versus /toŋsaeŋ/ and /hieŋ/. The English word "brother" has two Korean equivalents; */toŋsaeŋ/* is used to refer to a younger brother while */hiəŋ/* is used to refer to an elder brother. Korean learners must get used to the fact that English does not make this distinction lexically although it does make the distinction phrasally, i.e., "younger brother" versus "elder brother."

"Brother-in-law" versus /chʰənam/, /toŋs/, /maehiəŋ/, /maeche/, /hiəŋpu/, and /chenaŋ/. */chʰənam/* refers to one's wife's brother; */toŋs/* refers to one's wife's sister's husband; */maehiəŋ/* refers to one's elder sister's husband, if one is male; */maeche/* refers to one's younger sister's husband, if one is male; */hiəŋpu/* refers to one's elder sister's husband, if one is female; */chenaŋ/* refers to one's younger sister's husband, if one is female. Korean learners must get used to the fact that English does not make this kind of distinction at all, at least lexically. Every other "in-law" word in English has more than one equivalent in Korean. In that sense, every other "in-law" word poses a potential learning problem for Koreans.

Korean Words with Polysemic English Equivalents

Here we will be dealing with instances where one Korean word has an English equivalent with more than one meaning but only one of which is the same as the meaning of the Korean word in question.

/saŋcha/ versus "box." The Korean word */saŋcha/* has the meaning of a box as a container. On the other hand, the English word "box" may mean not only a container but also a theater compartment, an embarrassing or perplexing situation, or the like.

Korean learners tend to find it easier to learn to use the English "box" in its sense as a container than in its other senses, perhaps because "box" as a container is closest to the meaning of the Korean */saŋcha/*, and this use of "box" is the most common of its many senses.

/paŋ/ versus "room." The Korean word */paŋ/* has the meaning of a room as in "This is my bedroom." On the other hand, the English

word "room" means not only a room as part of a house but also room as scope or space, as in "There is room for improvement."

Korean learners tend to find it easier to use "room" in its sense as a part of a house than in its other senses. The reason may be that this sense of "room" is closest to the meaning of the Korean */paŋ/*, and this is the most usual sense of "room."

/son/ versus "hand." The Korean word */son/* has the meaning of a hand as a part of the human arm beyond the wrist. On the other hand, the English word "hand" means not just the part of the human arm beyond the wrist but also a pointer on the dial of a watch, a person who does something, or the like.

Korean learners tend to find it easier to use "hand" in the sense of the part of the human arm beyond the wrist. The reason may be that this sense is closest to the meaning of the Korean word */son/*, and this sense is the most common of the many senses of "hand."

/hakkio/ versus "school." The Korean word */hakkio/* has the meaning of a school as a place of learning. On the other hand, the English word "school" refers to not just a place of learning but also to a group of fish, a group of artists who follow a certain style, or the like.

Korean learners tend to find it easier to use "school" in the sense of a place of learning than in its other senses, perhaps because this sense is closest to the meaning of the Korean word */hakkio/* and it is the most common of the many senses of "school."

Syntactic Interferences

We will now discuss a number of salient syntactic contrasts between the two languages.

Expletive "It" and "There"

The English language frequently uses the so-called expletives "it" and "there" while Korean does not. Thus Korean learners tend to find it rather difficult to learn to use expressions that contain one of these expletives. They have difficulty in learning to use such expressions as the following:

a. I like *it* here.

b. *It* was cold last winter.

c. *It* is important that I pass this test.

d. *It* is kind of you to come.

e. He made *it* clear that he would come.

f. *It's* cold enough for *there* to be ice on the window.

g. *There* was not a single book in his room.

"Yes/No" to Negative Questions

In response to English negative questions such as "Aren't you hungry?" we say "no" when we want to answer in the negative while we say "yes" when we want to answer in the affirmative.

On the other hand, in response to negative question in Korean we say "yes" when we want to answer in the negative while we say "no" when we want to answer in the affirmative. That is, yes in Korean means "No, I am not hungry," and no means "Yes, I am hungry."

Yes and no are used to mean "What you've said is correct" and "What you've said is incorrect." So if you state a question in a negative way, the Korean answer turns out to be opposite of English "yes" and "no," which affirm or deny the fact rather than the statement of the facts.

Let us take the Korean question */ankassipnikka/* "Did you not go?" as an example. Koreans will say */ye ankassipnita/* "Yes, I did not go" if they want to answer the question negatively; they will say */anio kassipnita/* "No, I went" if they want to answer the same question affirmatively.

Korean learners often transfer this Korean habit of responding to negative questions when they speak English. Thus they often use "yes" and "no" the wrong way when they answer negative questions in English. For example, the negative question "Didn't you do it?" is likely to elicit either "Yes, I didn't do it," or "No, I did it."

The Construction "Verb + Adjectival Complement" or "Verb + Object + Adjectival Complement"

Many English verbs take adjectival complements. Among such verbs are "feel," as in "I feel happy"; "appear," as in "She appears to be happy"; "seem," as in "She seems to be happy"; "look," as in "She looks happy"; "smell," as in "It smells good"; "sound," as in "It sounds good"; and "taste," as in "It tastes good."

Many English verbs take an object followed by an adjectival complement. Among such verbs are "consider," as in "I consider him to be great"; "think," as in "I think him to be good"; "regard," as in "I regard him as good"; "make," as in "I made them bigger"; "render," as in "This will render him powerless"; etc.

With such verbs, Korean also uses complements. However, Korean uses adverbial complements rather than adjectival complements. Thus "I feel happy" would come out in Korean something like "I feel happily."

This may explain why Korean learners often use adverbial, instead of adjectival, complements for such English verbs. For illustration, let us consider the following sentences:

a. It tastes nice.

b. It smells nice.

c. It looks nice.
d. It sounds nice.
e. It appears to be nice.
f. It seems to be nice.
g. Make him happy.
h. Render him powerless.
i. It causes me to be happy.
j. I regard him as honest.
k. I consider him to be honest.
l. I deem it important.

Korean learners often render these sentences as follows:

a′. It tastes nicely.
b′. It smells nicely.
c′. It looks nicely.
d′. It sounds nicely.
e′. It appears nicely.
f′. It seems nicely.
g′. Make him happily.
h′. Render him powerlessly.
i′. It causes me to be happily.
j′. I regard him as honestly.
k′. I consider him honestly.
l′. I deem it importantly.

Countable versus Uncountable Nouns

English makes the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns. On the other hand, Korean does not make a similar distinction. Grammatically, every Korean noun may be used as a countable noun.

This may explain why Korean learners often have trouble using uncountable nouns or make the required distinction between countable nouns and uncountable nouns in English. This may also help explain why Korean learners often distort uncountable English nouns such as "news," "information," "evidence," "testimony," and "intelligence," and say such things as "many news," "one evidence," "a few testimonies," "several informations," "an information," or "intelligences."

English can use the same noun as countable and uncountable. For example, "pine" is countable when it refers to a tree or trees, while it is uncountable when it refers to the wood obtained from the pine tree. Korean learners quite frequently fail to distinguish between the countable use and the uncountable use of the same noun in English. Thus they may fail to see the difference between the two uses of such nouns as the following:

Noun	Countable Use	Uncountable Use
dog	an animal	meat from the animal
chicken	a fowl	meat from the fowl
lamb	an animal	meat from the animal
turkey	a fowl	meat from the fowl
oak	a tree	wood from the tree
pine	a tree	wood from the tree
birch	a tree	wood from the tree
cherry	a tree	wood from the tree

It may be noted here that Korean learners often mark such nouns as countable when they should be uncountable, saying "I had a lamb for breakfast" instead of "I had lamb for breakfast."

Predicative versus Attributive Adjectives

According to its position, an adjective may be predicative, attributive, or both. If an adjective may occur only as a verbal complement, then it is predicative. If an adjective may occur as a prenominal modifier only, then it is attributive. If an adjective may occur in either position, then it is both predicative and attributive.

All Korean adjectives may be used either attributively or predicatively. On the other hand, we may think of English adjectives as breaking down into the following three types. First, some English adjectives are used only predicatively.

We may say "I saw a boy who was afraid," but we may not say "I saw an afraid boy." Second, some English adjectives may be used only attributively. We may say "This is the main reason," but not "This is the reason that is main." Finally, most English adjectives may be used either attributively or predicatively. We may say either "I know a man who is sick," or "I know a sick man."

The first two types of English adjectives do not have their counterpart in Korean while the third type does. The first two types, but not the third, pose potential learning problems for Korean learners.

Korean learners may use predicative-only English adjectives attributively. That is, they may produce such phrases as "aflame house," "ablaze mountains," "adrift boats," or the like.

Korean learners may use attributive-only English adjectives predicatively. That is, they may say, "This reason is main," "The problem is major," "The president is former," or "The administration is previous."

The Definite and Indefinite Articles

In most of their uses, the English articles "the," "a," and "an," do not have counterparts in Korean. Korean learners often find it extremely difficult to learn to use the English article correctly. They often either mix up one article with another or leave out an article where they should use one, as in the following cases.

"The" in a Set Name. When a set consists of more than one member such that a member may be called *X*, the set is often referred to in English as "the *X*s." Thus we have "the Rocky Mountains," "the Great Lakes," "the Philippine Islands," "the Philippines," "the Three Rs," "the R months," "the Carolinas," "the Americas," "the Smiths," and so on. Korean learners often drop "the" in such set names, often along with the plural-marking *-s*.

"Korean" versus "the Korean Language." An English proper noun may often be rewritten as "the" + proper adjective + common noun. Thus "Korean," "Christianity," "France," and "Rome" may be rewritten as "the Korean language," "the Christian faith," "the French Republic," and "the Roman Empire." Korean learners often leave out "the" in the construction of "the + proper adjective + common noun."

"Ten dollars" versus "An even ten dollars." When an English noun phrase takes the form of adjective + plural numeral + plural noun, it is preceded by an article, either definite or indefinite. Thus we may have such English noun phrases as "an even ten dollars," "a whopping five billion dollars," "the usual 100 percent," "the customary two dollars," "the required 85 percent," and so on. Korean learners often omit the article from noun phrases of this sort.

"The" in Proper Names. Certain proper names such as names of rivers or hotels are frequently preceded by the definite article ("the") in English. Thus we have such proper names as "the Potomac," "the Potomac River," "the Nile," "the Nile River," "the Sheraton," "the Sheraton Hotel," "the Imperial Hotel," etc. Korean learners often omit the definite article from this type of proper name.

"The" + adjective. In English "the" + adjective is frequently used as a noun phrase that refers to either a set or group of certain things or a certain quality. "The beautiful" may be used as a noun phrase that refers, depending on context, to either a set of beautiful persons or the quality of being beautiful, i.e., beauty. Korean learners often find it hard to learn to use this type of noun-phrase construction in English; they also seem to find it hard to assign the correct meaning to such a construction.

Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns and relative clauses of English do not have their equivalents in Korean. Korean lacks relative pronouns. Relative clauses precede their head nouns directly, without being preceded or followed by relative pronouns or conjunctions. For example, */melika ssɨn phencɨnin cemiitta/* is rendered "Mary writes letters interesting is" in Korean for "letters that Mary writes are interesting" in English. As a consequence, Korean learners often experience difficulty in learning to use relative pronouns and relative clauses in English.

Gender

English makes the distinction between masculine, feminine, and neuter gender in its third-person singular pronouns. "She," "her," and "hers" are feminine, "it" and "its" are neuter, and "he," "him," and "his" are masculine. On the other hand, Korean does not make a similar distinction.

The gender distinction in the third-person singular pronouns of English often poses something of a problem for Korean learners. In many instances, they mix up a masculine pronoun with a feminine pronoun. This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that masculine pronouns are more commonly used or more dominant than their feminine counterparts.

Number Agreement between Subject and Verb

In English, the subject of a sentence must agree in number with the main verb of the sentence. In Korean, however, a similar agreement does not seem to be operative although the subject of a sentence has to agree in number with the subjective complement if the subjective complement is a noun.

Pre-Modification versus Post-Modification. The modifier of a noun in English may either precede or follow the noun that it modifies. Thus we may have either "a valuable book" or "a book of value." In Korean, on the other hand, a noun modifier must precede the noun that it modifies. Thus "a valuable book" has its equivalent in Korean while "a book of value" does not.

This suggests that Korean learners may find English postmodification something of a problem. In other words, "a book of value" or "a book which is valuable" may be rather difficult for Korean learners while "a valuable book" should not be too difficult for them.

It may be noted at this point that English sometimes requires postmodification, not allowing premodification. For example, this is the case when an adjective phrase modifies such "indefinite" pronouns as "something," "somebody," "someone," "nothing," "nobody," "no one," "anything," "anybody," "anyone," "everything," "everybody," "everyone," etc. Korean learners often use pre-modification, understandably enough, even in these cases where only postmodification is allowed. In other words, they often produce ungrammatical English strings such as "good something," instead of "something important."

Subject-Verb Inversion

Subject-verb inversion often occurs in English when a statement is turned into a question. For example, subject and verb change places when we transform "Professor Jones will teach somebody" into either "Whom will Professor Jones teach?" or "Will Professor Jones teach somebody?"

On the other hand, this phenomenon of subject-verb inversion is not found in Korean. This may help explain why Korean learners often produce such un-English sentences as "Whom Professor Jones will teach?" instead of the grammatical "Whom will Professor Jones teach?"

Irregular Verbs, Nouns, Adjectives, and Adverbs

Many English verbs form their past tense/past participle forms irregularly. Many English nouns form their plural forms irregularly. Many adjectives and adverbs form their comparative and superlative forms irregularly.

On the other hand, Korean verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are by and large regular. Thus the irregular verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs of English do not have their counterparts in Korean.

This, coupled with the general tendency to make regular what is irregular, may explain why Korean learners often produce such un-English forms as "goed," instead of "went" or "gone"; "gooses," instead of "geese"; "gooder," or "more good," instead of "better"; or "iller," instead of "worse."

Cultural Interferences

In what follows, we will concern ourselves with some reflexes of cultural traits as they relate to our current discussion.

Essen Kultur

Korean culture may be called an *essen Kultur* in the sense that it places particular value and emphasis on food and eating. This appears to be reflected in the Korean language in a number of rather interesting ways.

A case in point is provided by one of the most commonly used Korean greetings. This greeting may be translated into English as something like "Have you eaten your meal yet?" where "your meal" may be replaced by "your breakfast," "your lunch," or "your dinner," depending on the hour of the day.

Korean learners often commit social blunders of sorts by transferring this food-oriented greeting to English. They often say "Have you eaten your breakfast?" for "Good morning," "Have you eaten your lunch?" for "Good day," "Have you eaten your dinner?" for "Good evening," or the like.

Humility and Modesty

Korean culture attaches particular importance and significance to humility and modesty as an integral part of a well-bred person's character or personality. This attitude is often reflected in the Korean language.

First, when someone congratulates a Korean on something, he or she is supposed to show humility or modesty by saying something like "I am ashamed" or "Not at all" or both. Korean learners may often transfer this expression of humility and modesty to English. Thus when you say something like "You have a beautiful tie on," he is likely to respond by saying "I am ashamed," "Not at all," or the like.

Second, Koreans generally consider it to be against their code of humility and modesty to boast of their own things or achievements. Korean scholars are supposed to refer to their own publications as "my poor publication." Koreans are supposed to refer to themselves as "this unworthy person," to their own houses as "my not-so-clean place," and so on.

Also, Korean hosts, when their guests are about to begin a meal, often say to their guests that they have prepared an inadequate meal but that they would appreciate their, the guests', eating their fill. This apparent contradiction in terms is only a social protocol. Koreans may transfer this linguistic reflex of their code of humility and modesty to English when they have invited an Anglo-American to dinner at their home.

We may also cite the Korean proverb that says, "He is a fool who boasts of his own child or his own wife." This proverb may be said to be an interesting reflex of the code of humility and modesty.

Third, Koreans consider it to be against their code of humility and modesty to be loquacious or talk in public without being called upon. Thus Korean learners may often appear to have only a minimal interest in taking an active part in a classroom discussion or expressing themselves publicly unless they are explicitly and strongly urged or required to do so.

First-Naming

Koreans do not call someone by his or her first name unless he or she is clearly "inferior" in terms of either age or rank, or unless he or she is their really close friend. On the other hand, Anglo Americans use first names much more frequently than do Koreans. Korean learners may find it hard to call people by their first name unless they are really close friends or clearly "inferior" either in age or rank. Thus, getting Korean learners to use first names as Anglo Americans do may be something of a problem for their English teachers.

Protocol

Every language seems to have specific set expressions used in specific situations; these expressions may be called protocol expressions. To take examples from English, one is supposed to say "Best wishes" to a bride and "Congratulations" to a groom, or "Gesundheit" or "God bless you" when somebody has just coughed or sneezed.

Korean and English differ quite drastically in such protocol expressions, and Korean learners encounter difficulty in learning to use proper expressions. For one thing, they will find it difficult to learn to say "Gesundheit" or "God bless you" appropriately.

Idioms

Most idioms result from an interplay between the language in question and the culture in which that language is embedded. English and Korean are apparently embedded in two entirely different cultures. As a consequence, the two languages apparently have developed a set of idiomatic expressions idiosyncratic to each. One has to be familiar with not just the language but also the culture if one is to understand idioms correctly. Thus English idioms may be more difficult for Korean learners than nonidiomatic English expressions. In other words, such idioms as "take the fifth," "common-law wife," and "an apple polisher," can be more difficult than their nonidiomatic paraphrases for Korean learners.

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CHAPTER 16

An Analysis of the Word Recognition, Reading Rate, and Error Rate Scoring Criteria for a Spanish Informal Reading Inventory for Bilingual Students

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Background and Purpose of the Study

Since bilingual education became a national issue in the United States in 1967, there has been a growing demand for the development of valid instruments to assess the needs of bilingual children. A particular focus of concern has been the availability of valid instruments to measure the reading performance of bilingual children in their native language.

Most of the instruments that have been developed to meet the needs of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students lack validity and reliability (Pletcher et al., 1978). Furthermore, most of the means of assessing reading ability are in the form of standardized tests, which have been shown to be inadequate for providing the teacher with important diagnostic information and for giving an accurate instructional placement (Sipay, 1964; Johns, 1975). They have been found to overestimate the reading instructional levels of children by as much as a year or more (Powell, 1969). The diagnostic value of standardized tests is minimal because they do not sample enough of any one particular reading behavior or skill to give teachers information regarding specific weaknesses (Burmeister, 1974).

The Informal Reading Inventory (IRI) provides an excellent means for teachers to assess the specific needs of their students (Zintz, 1975). The IRI is a teacher-constructed test composed of a series of increasingly difficult graded passages which can be used to measure oral reading performance. It is individually administered by having the students read successive passages until they fail to meet the established criteria. As students read, the teacher keeps a record of word recognition errors. After reading each passage, students are asked a series of questions to check for comprehension of the material. On the basis of this reading, the functional reading levels of the students are determined.

When administered properly with appropriate criteria, the IRI provides a basis for accurate instructional placement so that the student is placed at a level that is neither so easy that it is not challenging nor so difficult that it is frustrating. The teacher derives in-depth diagnostic information to aid in instructional planning and individualization. Furthermore, experience with administering IRIs can help teachers gain insight into reading behavior so that they can more effectively carry on continuous diagnosis in the instructional setting.

The scoring criteria the teacher uses for the IRI is of vital importance because the criteria determine the student's instructional placement. For example, Homan (1978) found that two well-known criteria (Betts, 1946; Powell, 1970) placed students at the same instructional level only 51 percent of the time. If the criteria are not accurate, then the IRI could either overestimate or underestimate the proper reading level for instruction.

Although the IRI is presently used in many bilingual programs (Garganta and Ramírez, 1978; Lombardo, 1979; Herrmann, 1980), there has been little or no research into the development of criteria for an IRI in Spanish. Most of the investigations regarding criteria for the IRI have been done on reading in English (Killgallon, 1942; Cooper, 1952; Schummers, 1956; Dunkeld, 1970; Powell, 1970).

The most frequently used criteria for an IRI are those recommended by Betts (1946), based on a study by Killgallon (1942). Powell (1970) has criticized these criteria on the basis that they are unrealistically high and not supported by valid research data. In a study of 178 average achieving students, Powell found that the actual reading performance of students did not support the Betts-Killgallon criteria. He found that students in grades 1 and 2 "could tolerate *on the average* an 85 percent word recognition score and still maintain 70 percent comprehension" (Powell, 1970, p. 106). Students in grades 3 through 6 were able to tolerate a word recognition score of 91–94 percent while still maintaining the 70 percent criterion for comprehension. Thus, Powell found a differential performance across grade levels and an inverse relationship between word recognition errors and difficulty of material. As the passages increased in difficulty, students could make fewer errors and still maintain adequate comprehension. Examination of five well-known standardized oral reading tests by Powell and Dunkeld (1971) provided further evidence that there is a differential effect of word recognition error values across reading levels.

The research on criteria for the IRI in English provides valuable guidelines for establishing criteria for an IRI in Spanish. However, using English criteria as the standard in Spanish is not appropriate, because there are syntactic, morphological, and phonemic differences between English and Spanish. Furthermore, the decoding task is different for the two languages because there is a closer sound-symbol relationship in Spanish than in English.

The ultimate purpose of an IRI is to match the reading level of the student with the difficulty level of the material. However, the problem remains that when teachers use the criteria established for an English IRI for an IRI in Spanish, they cannot be certain that they are accurately placing their students at their instructional level.

The present study endeavored to address this problem by examining the oral reading performance of Spanish-English bilingual children to determine appropriate criteria for placing students at their instructional level with Spanish reading materials. To achieve this end, a Spanish Informal Reading Inventory (SIRI) was developed.

Development of the SIRI

Passages for levels preprimer to eighth grade were written. The difficulty level of each passage was based on readability estimates of four Spanish basal reading series (Spanish Curricula Development Center, 1977; Laidlaw, 1971; Santillana, 1977; and McGraw-Hill, 1978). A modified version of the Spanish Curriculum Development Center's (SCDC) readability formula (Hartner et al., 1974) was used to obtain readability estimates of the four basal series. The average sentence length (ASL) and average word difficulty (AWD) of each book in each series was calculated, and the mean ASL and mean AWD across each of the series for preprimer to eighth-grade levels were obtained.

The SCDC readability formula was also used to control the difficulty level of the SIRI passages. Grade level designations for each passage were determined by matching the ASL and AWD of each SIRI passage with the mean ASL and mean AWD that were obtained at each grade level for the Spanish basal readers.

The order of the SIRI as ranked by the readability formula was tested with a cloze procedure. Randomized mechanical cloze tests, constructed from the preprimer through eighth-grade passages of the SIRI, were administered to 229 students in second through sixth grades in two schools in Miami, Florida. These subjects were called the readability group. An average cloze score was calculated for each passage by grade and by school, and adjacent pairwise comparisons were made. The assumption was that for two adjacent passages, the lower passage should have the higher average cloze score.

Table 1 shows the comparisons of average cloze test scores by passage, grade, and school. As can be seen in Table 1, the results of the cloze tests suggest that the students rank ordered three pairs of passages in a different order than the readability formula. T-tests of the average cloze scores for passages 1 and 2, 4 and 5, and 7 and 8, revealed significant differences for passages 4 and 5 and for passages 7 and 8. On the basis of these results, the order of these two pairs of passages was reversed on the SIRI.

Administration of the SIRI

The SIRI was administered to 110 bilingual students in Miami, Florida, who had been randomly selected from a population of 175 students on the basis of their grade equivalent scores on the California Tests of Basic Skills-Español. These students composed the criteria group.

Table 1

Comparisons of Average Cloze Test Scores by Passage, Grade, and School

Cloze Passage Comparison	Subject's Grade Level	School	
		A	B
Preprimer	2nd	69 > 33	52 > 44
Primer-1st	2nd	33 > 16	44 > 19
1st-2nd	2nd	none	19 < 20[a]
	3rd	34 < 42[a]	19 < 21[a]
2nd-3rd	3rd	42 > 26	21 > 13
	4th	49 > 37	46 > 30
3rd-4th	3rd	26 > 13	13 > 11
	4th	37 > 29	40 > 31
4th-5th	4th	30 < 40[a]	24 < 37[a]
	5th	29 < 37[a]	31 < 43[a]
5th-6th	5th	37 > 34	43 > 26
	6th	79 > 36	51 > 35
6th-7th	6th	36 > 33	35 > 28
7th-8th	6th	33 < 37[a]	28 < 46[a]

[a] The direction of inequality suggests passages are reversed.

Students in the criteria group read successive SIRI passages until they failed to meet the comprehension criteria on two consecutive passages. This was considered the frustration level. Instructional level was the highest passage on which a student met the comprehension criterion.

To establish the instructional level, Powell's (1978) revised comprehension criteria, which were extrapolated from cloze test scores, were used. These criteria vary according to reading cluster and are as follows: 55 percent for preprimer through second-grade passage levels, 60 percent for third- through fifth-grade passage levels, and 65 percent for passages at the sixth-grade level and above. Students' performances on each passage they read were recorded in terms of words per minute, error ratio (i.e., errors per 100 words), error rate (i.e., errors per minute) and comprehension percentage (i.e., percent correct).

The data were analyzed to find the mean tolerable error ratio, mean tolerable words per minute, and mean tolerable error rate for each passage and for each reading cluster. "Tolerable" was defined in terms of a student's minimum performance on a passage while still maintaining adequate comprehension. The reading clusters were as follows: preprimer to second-grade reading level, third- to fifth-grade reading level, and sixth- to eighth-grade reading level.

The following procedure was used in the calculations. First, each subject's instructional level was established. To do this, each passage was judged as to whether or not the student reading that passage achieved a comprehension score greater than or equal to the comprehension criteria for that passage. Acceptable passages were those which were greater than or equal to the comprehension criteria. Frustration passages were those which were less than the comprehension criteria. The last acceptable passage which immediately preceded two successive frustration level passages was the instructional level passage.

Having established the instructional level passage, the criteria for word recognition errors on the SIRI were then calculated as follows:

1. The error ratio for each acceptable passage was calculated by dividing the total number of word recognition errors in a passage by the total number of words in that passage.
2. For each subject in the criteria group, the acceptable passages were examined to find the highest error ratio for that subject. This error ratio was recorded as the tolerable error ratio and attributed to that subject's instructional level. For example, suppose a student read the second- through fifth-grade passages on the SIRI. According to the protocol, the last two passages read would be disregarded because they were frustration level passages. This leaves the second- and third-grade passages to be examined. If the subject passed the second-grade passage according to the comprehension criterion for second grade, the error ratio made on the second-grade passage would be compared with the error ratio made on the third-grade passage. Whichever error ratio was greatest would be called the tolerable error ratio for the third-grade instructional level passage.
3. At each instructional passage level, the mean tolerable error ratio was calculated. Continuing with the above example, the subject's tolerable error ratio for the third-grade instructional level passage would be grouped with all the other tolerable error ratios for subjects whose instructional level was third grade.
4. For each cluster, the grand mean of the tolerable error ratios was calculated. This was done by grouping the tolerable error ratios for the preprimer through second-grade instructional levels together as Cluster 1. The tolerable error ratio for the third- through fifth-grade instructional levels was grouped

together as Cluster 2. The remaining tolerable error ratios formed Cluster 3. The mean tolerable error ratios at each cluster were considered to be the word recognition scoring criteria for the SIRI. Using the same example as above, the subject's tolerable error ratio would be added to the tolerable error ratios of subjects with either third-, fourth-, or fifth-grade instructional levels. All their tolerable error ratios would be averaged and the resulting grand mean would be the word recognition scoring criteria for Cluster 2.

This four-step process was repeated to determine reading rate scoring criteria and to calculate error rate scoring criteria, with the following replacements:

1. The number of words per minute was used to determine the reading rate scoring criteria. This was calculated by dividing the number of words in a passage by the number of minutes taken to read the passage. The *lowest* number of words per minute was used to establish the tolerable reading rate. Therefore, the reading rate criteria reflect how slowly subjects could read and still meet the comprehension criteria.
2. The number of errors per minute was used to determine the error rate scoring criteria. This was calculated by dividing the total number of errors in a passage by the number of minutes taken to read the passage. The *highest* number of errors per minute was used to determine the tolerable error rate. Therefore, the error rate criteria reflect how many errors per minute students could make and still meet the comprehension criteria.

The mean tolerable words per minute at each cluster level was considered to be the reading rate scoring criteria for the SIRI. The mean tolerable errors per minute at each cluster level was considered to be the error rate scoring criteria for the SIRI.

Findings

Table 2 presents the mean tolerable error ratio, mean tolerable words per minute, and mean tolerable error rate for each passage, and for each reading cluster on the SIRI. The mean of each cluster represents the mean of the tolerable error ratios, tolerable words per minute, and tolerable error rate of the passages in that cluster. For word recognition, the mean tolerable error ratio at the cluster level was 10.2 for preprimer to second grade, 5.8 for third to fifth grade, and 3.6 for sixth to eighth grade. For oral reading rate, the mean tolerable words per minute at the cluster level was 53.4 for preprimer to second grade, 79.9 for third to fifth grade, and 86.0 for sixth to eighth grade.

Table 2

The Mean Tolerable Error Ratios, Words per Minute, and Errors per Minute for Passage Levels and Clusters on the SIRI

Cluster	Passage	N	Mean Tolerable Error Ratio	Mean Tolerable Words per Minute	Mean Tolerable Errors per Minute
1	pp[a]	1	0	64.4	0
	p	12	13.1	33.8	2.6
	1	13	8.2	60.7	3.4
	2	10	10.3	62.6	5.9
Means:			10.2	53.4	3.7
2	3	12	8.6	57.5	4.3
	4	7	6.0	85.0	5.0
	5	22	4.2	90.5	3.0
Means:			5.8	79.9	3.7
3	6	5	5.7	66.4	4.0
	7	19	3.7	85.7	3.0
	8	9	2.3	97.5	2.6
Means:			3.6	86.0	3.0

[a] Only one subject

For error rate, the mean tolerable errors per minute at the cluster level was 3.7 for preprimer to second grade, 3.7 for third to fifth grade, and 3.0 for sixth to eighth grade.

The means at the cluster level provide the suggested scoring criteria for the instructional level on the SIRI. These criteria refer to the level of the reading material and not the grade level of the student.

It was of interest to determine if the criteria obtained with the present study were similar to those that have been recommended for an IRI in English. Therefore, data on the error ratios were reanalyzed twice to permit comparison with the instructional level criteria in English suggested by Betts (1946) and by Powell (1970). The analysis was the same as the previously described analysis of the tolerable error ratios except that the comprehensive criteria were held constant. The first reanalysis was done with the comprehensive criterion set at 75 percent, matching Betts's comprehensive criterion. The second reanalysis was done with the comprehension criterion set at 70 percent, matching Powell's comprehension criterion.

Betts (1946) recommended an error ratio of 5 errors per 100 words (i.e., 100 minus 95 percent word recognition) for the instructional level. When comprehension was held at 75 percent across all passages on the SIRI, the mean tolerable error ratios at each cluster were as follows: 6.05 for Cluster 1; 4.93 for Cluster 2; and 3.72 for Cluster 3. The mean tolerable error ratio at all three clusters was close to Betts's criterion.

Powell (1970) recommended criteria for error ratios which varied with passage level. His criteria were based on research done with 178 students. For the first- and second-grade passages his error ratio criterion was 15 (i.e., 100 minus 85 percent word recognition). For the third- through fifth-grade passages his error ratio criterion was 9. For the sixth-grade passage his criterion was 6. All of these criteria were for the instructional level. When comprehension was held at 70 percent across all passages on the SIRI, the mean tolerable error ratios at each cluster were as follows: 7.25 for Cluster 1; 4.93 for Cluster 2; and 3.72 for Cluster 3. These mean tolerable error ratios were consistently lower than found in Powell's research on reading performance on informal reading inventories in English. This meant that the Spanish-speaking students made fewer word recognition errors on the SIRI than would have been expected from Powell's word recognition criteria.

Since one of an IRI's main objectives is to determine a student's instructional reading level, it was important to ascertain if word recognition errors, reading rate, and error rate aid in the prediction of instructional level. If they do, then this would suggest that these criteria should be included in the determination of a student's instructional level. Instructional level on the SIRI was determined for the 110 subjects solely on the basis of Powell's variable comprehension criteria. No other variables were used in determining instructional level for those students who were tested.

A step-wise multiple regression procedure was used to determine the model which "best" predicted instructional level on the SIRI. The first variable that was entered into the model for prediction of instructional level was words per minute. It resulted in an R^2 of 0.3222. The computed F ratio was 51.34 and the critical F ratio was 11.5 at the 0.001 level of significance. The computed F was larger than the critical F; therefore, words per minute was a significant predictor of instructional level.

Error ratio and errors per minute did not add significantly to the prediction of instructional level after words per minute was already in the model.

Words per minute was the "best" predictor of instructional level on the SIRI. It accounted for 32 percent of the variance.

Discussion of the Results

An examination of the mean tolerable error ratios at each reading cluster reveals a gradual decrease in error ratios across clusters. As the error ratios decrease the difficulty of the passages increases. This result is similar to Powell's (1970) findings on an IRI in English. Powell used a comprehension criterion of 70 percent for instructional level and found a decrease in error ratios across the passage levels and across reading clusters.

When the mean tolerable error ratios were reanalyzed using Betts's comprehension criteria of 75 percent, the error ratios at all three clusters were close to Betts's (1946) word recognition criterion of 5 errors per 100 words for instructional level. When the data were reanalyzed using Powell's comprehension criteria of 70 percent for instructional level, the mean tolerable error ratios were consistently lower than found in Powell's (1970) research on reading performance on an IRI in English. This meant that the Spanish-speaking students made fewer word recognition errors on the SIRI than would have been expected from Powell's word recognition criteria.

One possible explanation for the differences in the results of this study and the results of Powell's (1970) study could be that the decoding process in Spanish is easier. There is a closer sound-symbol relationship in Spanish than there is in English (Gutiérrez, 1975; Feitelson, 1976).

An examination of the mean tolerable words per minute at each reading cluster reveals a gradual increase in words per minute across clusters. This finding is similar to findings on reading rate in English. However, the reading rates of the Spanish-speaking students were consistently lower than those that have been found with English-speaking students (Durrell, 1937; Gilmore, 1952; and McCracken, 1963).

McCracken (1963) had minimum passing speeds for his *Standard Reading Inventory* that ranged from 60 words per minute at primer level to 150 words per minute at seventh-grade level. McCracken stated that failure of his test sample to surpass these minimum speeds seemed to preclude success in reading at the next higher grade level. McCracken's minimum speeds were much higher than the mean tolerable words per minute that were found on the SIRI. The range on the SIRI was 33.8 at the primer level to 97.5 at the eighth-grade level. (The preprimer level was excluded since only one student achieved that level.)

Gilmore (1952) reported end-of-year reading rates for his standardized population that ranged from 45 words per minute at the first-grade level to 146 words per minute at the eighth-grade level. The rates he reported diverge sharply from what was found on the SIRI.

The rates found on the SIRI are also considerably lower than the average rates reported by Durrell (1937). Durrell's rates ranged from 45 words per minute at the first-grade level to 170 words per minute at sixth-grade level.

The difference in McCracken's (1963) findings and the findings on the SIRI could partly be attributed to the different comprehension criteria. McCracken used 75 percent for the comprehension criterion on the *Standard Reading Inventory*, whereas lower, variable criteria were used on the SIRI (55 percent, 60 percent, and 65 percent for the respective three reading clusters). The difference in Durrell's (1937) and Gilmore's (1952) findings and the findings on the SIRI could partly be attributed to the fact that Gilmore and Durrell obtained average reading speeds, whereas the average *lowest* rates at which students read a passage and were still able to meet the comprehension criteria were obtained on the SIRI. Thus, mean minimal rates are being compared to mean actual rates.

Another explanation for the difference in the findings on reading rates could be that the students in the present study received only forty-five minutes a day of instruction in Spanish language arts. They had a predominantly English-language curriculum.

The lower reading rates of the Spanish-speaking students could also be due to language interference from English. The Spanish teachers at the school described many cases of interference from English when the bilingual students read in Spanish. Vowels, particularly *e* and *i*, were problematic. This interference was also noted during data collection.

An examination of the mean tolerable errors per minute reveals a fairly constant error rate across reading clusters. Clusters 1 and 2 had the same mean tolerable error rate. The mean tolerable error rate for Cluster 3 was slightly less. It appears that there was a limit to the number of errors per minute that students could make and still comprehend the material they were reading. These error rates must be interpreted cautiously because of the slow rate at which students read the upper passage levels on the SIRI.

Of the three measures of the oral reading process on the SIRI, words per minute was found to be the "best" predictor of instructional level. This result supports research done on Spanish oral reading by Espuñes, Corominas, and Roca (1972). They found that time was more discriminating than word recognition errors in measuring the reading skill of seven-, eight-, nine-, and ten-year-old children.

This result also supports the research findings of Perfetti and Hogaboam (1975). They found that speed of verbal coding was a good predictor of reading success. Perfetti and Lesgold (1979) consider that speed is a better predictor of reading achievement because accuracy can be acquired long before skill development is complete. For example, tests of letter naming administered at the beginning of first grade correlate substantially with reading achievement at the end of first grade; letter-naming tests administered late in the school year have much lower correlations. On the other hand, measurements of letter-naming speed are significantly correlated with reading achievement throughout the school year (Speer and Lamb, 1976).

Conclusions

The findings of this study provide teachers with guidelines for placing bilingual students in Spanish materials at their instructional level. The criteria obtained from measuring the oral reading performance of Spanish-speaking children vary according to the reading level of the material, not the grade level of the student. Furthermore, the criteria are more stringent at the higher reading levels than at the lower reading levels.

Traditionally, word recognition errors and comprehension have been used to determine a student's instructional level on an IRI (Betts, 1946; Johnson and Kress, 1965; Powell, 1970; Zintz, 1975). The fact that words per minute was found to be predictive of instructional level suggests that reading rate should also be included in the determination of instructional level on a Spanish IRI. Therefore, it is recommended that teachers use the reading rate and error ratio criteria that were found in the study in combination with Powell's variable comprehension criteria to gauge students' levels and appropriate instructional materials.

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CHAPTER 17

Classroom Observation for Spanish–speaking Parents: An Action Research Project

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Introduction

A group of nineteen Mexican American parents were trained by the authors to do objective observations of bilingual classrooms in a southern California high school with a large number of limited-English-speaking students. In a pre-observation survey of the monolingual Spanish-speaking parents, fourteen (74 percent) responded that they had never observed in a classroom where teaching was in progress. Eleven (58 percent) responded that they had never been inside of a classroom even though this group of participants was selected from parents who were active in school affairs, namely, those constituting the Lau committee. The parents also responded unanimously that they would welcome the opportunity to do a classroom observation (see Table 1).

The principal of the school was supportive of the idea of training Spanish-speaking parents to observe classrooms as this gave him an opportunity to encourage greater involvement of these parents in school activities. The parents would also have knowledge of how schools function. Thirteen of the nineteen parents participated in the actual observation of classes.

In a postobservation survey, the thirteen parent respondents unanimously reported that participation in the project was valuable and informative; the observations were helpful and something positive was gained; they felt more at liberty to make further classroom visits; and communication between themselves and the teacher would be enhanced as a result of their having observed in the classroom (see Table 2). Twelve of the thirteen parents perceived the instruction which they observed to be favorable toward the students. Interestingly, eight of the thirteen parents, or 62 percent, reported that prior to this project they had no knowledge about the process of classroom instruction.

This project was undertaken to counter the problem that many parents, particularly those from a lower socioeconomic status, felt alienated from the school. This is especially true in Mexican American communities. The problem is compounded by the fact that many Mexican American parents who were raised in Mexico were *not* school dropouts, even though many of them do not have much education. Most of them completed the highest level of formal schooling available to them, although sometimes this was limited to only a few years. Many of them grew up in communities where formal education

Table 1

Percentages of Responses of Lau-Parent Pre-Observation Questionnaire

		n	Sí	No
1.	*Ha visitado la escuela*	19	74%	26%
2.	*Ha visitado el salón*	19	42%	58%
3.	*Sabe cómo visitar la escuela*	19	58%	42%
4.	*Ha observado instrucción en el salón*	19	26%	74%
5.	*Tiene contacto con el maestro*	19	53%	47%
6.	*Sabe con quién hablar sobre un problema académico*	19	68%	32%
7.	*Le gustaría observar el salón*	19	95%	5%
8.	*Sabe sus derechos sobre la observación de clases*	19	74%	26%
9.	*Es necesario observar el salón*	19	89%	11%
10.	*Le gustaría hacer una observación*	19	100%	0%

was not considered necessary either for social status or for the operation of the local economy (Ogbu, 1974).

Often parents are afraid to contact their child's teacher or counselor to find out what can be done if the student is having difficulties in school. Parents are also reluctant to visit the school when they do not understand English, when they are not familiar with how the school functions, when their rights are ignored, or when they simply feel lost and helpless.

In 1972, HSI (Home and School Institute) in Washington, D.C. began to take steps to bring about a more successful relationship between home and school. They identified, among other things, the following factors:

1. Parent participation is most widespread and sustained when parents view their participation as directly linked to their children's achievement.
2. The best programs provide ways for families to work with their children at home, for many parents cannot attend in-school meetings.
3. Programs that schools view as legitimate activities and as an integral part of the schooling process are best for building relationships.
4. Parents like being involved in their children's education at all levels.

Some of the latest educational research has been directed toward the achievement of better relationships between home and school.

Table 2

Percentages of Responses for Lau-Parent Post-Observation Questionnaire

		n	Sí	No
1.	*Fue informativo el taller*	13	100%	0%
2.	*Le ayudaron las observaciones*	13	100%	0%
3.	*Cree que observar el salón es buena idea*	13	100%	0%
4.	*Obtuvo algo positivo*	13	100%	0%
5.	*Antes tenía alguna idea sobre el salón*	13	38%	62%
6.	*Es favorable esta instrucción a los hijos*	13	92%	8%
7.	*Se siente con más libertad para hacer visitas*	13	100%	0%
8.	*Podrá mejorar la comunicación entre padre y maestro*	13	100%	0%
9.	*Le gustaría otro taller*	13	100%	0%
10.	*Le dio más interés sobre la educación de sus hijos*	13	100%	0%

		n	*Director*	*Maestro*	*Padre*	*Todos*
11.	*La comunicación entre padres y escuela es responsabilidad de . . .*	13	0%	0%	0%	100%

Rich (1981) points out that reaching out to parents is not an easy task, and a great number of schools are dedicating considerable time and effort in developing a system of partnership between schools and parents.

Teacher Orientation

The classroom teachers observed by parents participated in a preobservation session at the school's library on April 9, 1981. The school principal invited nine teachers to the orientation. The teachers were chosen on the basis of their involvement in bilingual or ESL classes. Six of the nine teachers attended the orientation session and agreed to be observed while teaching. An additional teacher, not originally selected, also participated in the orientation; one teacher changed her mind and refused to be observed. During the orientation session, the researchers gave the teachers an introductory lecture on the objective, rationale, and legal basis for the parental classroom observation process and an opportunity to express their opinions and feelings about the entire process. The teachers were also asked to respond to a questionnaire regarding their feelings and attitudes about parental observation of the instructional process and their knowledge on the subject of classroom observations.

Training Parents to do Classroom Observations

The purpose of training the parents was to provide them with the necessary skills to observe the classroom instructional process objectively, and to increase their interest and participation in all aspects of school-related activities.

For observing instruction in the classroom, two instruments were used. One was to implement an anecdotal method whereby the observer writes down everything that goes on in the classroom during 20 minutes. The second instrument used consists of a list of several statements describing specific behaviors that may occur in the classroom. A check mark is made on the list each time one of these behaviors is observed.

The observation process was divided into two sessions; the first took place on May 14, 1981, the second on June 4, 1981. On the day of each session, the parents arrived at the school and were told to go directly to the library, where they were met by the school principal and the researchers. To minimize subjective interference during the observation process, sons and daughters of participating parents were given an alternative assignment outside the classroom during the observation period.

During the pre-observation conferences the parents were given the observation instruments and introduced to the supervisors, the Title VI community aide, and the researchers, who were to accompany them to the classroom in groups of two.

Each pair of parents was assigned to one supervisor. The role of the supervisor was to introduce the parents to the teachers and to accompany them during the observational process. The supervisors were to answer any parent's questions about the classroom interaction during the observation and to clarify the teacher's actions and use of materials. Also, the supervisors were to put the parents at ease by giving them a sense of security in otherwise unfamiliar surroundings and by making them feel welcome in the school.

After the two twenty-minute classroom observations, the parents and supervisors returned to the library for the postobservation conference. The postobservation conference had a threefold purpose: (1) to collect the classroom observation data from the parents; (2) to have parents answer a postobservation questionnaire designed to record their feelings and attitudes about the observation experience; and (3) to allow parents to give their impressions about what they had seen in both the school and the classrooms.

Selection of the Population

The group of Lau parents were selected by the school's principal and included those who already showed some involvement in the education of their children. All parents were of Hispanic origin and were monolingual Spanish speaking.

The teachers who took part in the observation of instruction were selected from the bilingual program of the same school, as only bilingual classes were to be observed. The teachers who were observed and a comparison group of teachers from the same school were also given questionnaires in order to survey their feelings and attitudes regarding parental classroom observation of the instructional process.

Teachers' Workshop

The teachers who were to be observed and who attended the workshop at the high school library also had reservations as to the true facts behind the parents' visiting the classrooms. They felt threatened, and expressed their apprehension about the project. They were also concerned about what type of questions the parents would be asking. They were equally concerned about the honesty of the researchers' explanation of the purposes. Two of them said that they could not stay very long because they had other commitments (they had previously received a letter as to the date, place, time, and purpose of the meeting). Two other teachers were reluctant to take part in the study. Most of the teachers wanted to postpone the observation date to the latest time possible. It was agreed that the teachers were to be notified in advance of the time and date of the observations.

Teacher Data

Analysis of survey data from a control group of eighteen teachers who were not observed indicates that deficiency in communication between parents and teachers occurs because of the scarcity of contact between the two groups. This was supported by 78 percent of the teachers who reported they had sometimes or seldom had direct contact with parents; 50 percent of the teachers said there was little communication between teachers and the parents.

The majority of the teachers felt it was a good idea to have the parents do classroom observations. They felt this would create parental interest in the education of their children. At the same time, 66 percent said they would feel threatened by having the parents in their classrooms.

The teachers who were not to be observed thought parental observations were a good idea. However, they expressed concern over having the parents in the classroom, saying that parents knew too little about the teaching process to observe the class fairly. Some teachers said it was all right to train parents to do class observations, yet they didn't want them in the classroom. Of the teachers, 59 percent reported not having any knowledge about the instructional observation process, yet 55 percent said they were willing to take part in observation training. Most of the teachers surveyed felt it was the parents' responsibility to keep open communication lines between the school and the home.

When it came to the questions of responsibility for home-school communication, teachers felt that it was primarily the parents' responsibility, although all of them felt that the school principals were the last to take the initiative in encouraging home-school communication.

Importance of the Study

The public school can only succeed to the extent that it holds the understanding, interest, and confidence of the people. In the past, the PTA has been the most popular organization used to contact the parents of the community involved. It has been the vehicle for the dissemination of school information. The PTA has been, and still is, the most common and best known school-related group which is specifically organized to maintain ties between the community and the school. However, lack of widespread participation has limited the PTA's effectiveness. When only a small percentage of parents attend PTA meetings it is difficult for the school to present its program to the community. New means must be found and put to use which will motivate parents to get involved in their schools and children's education. The researchers of this study anticipate that parental classroom observation training will interest parents in taking a more active role in the schools' programs and related educational activities.

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CHAPTER 18

Bilingual Education on Television: Ensuring the Cultural Accuracy of a Children's Educational Television Series

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Introduction

In a movement catalyzed by the creation of "Sesame Street," a number of educational television series for children have been produced over the last fifteen years. "Culture" has been an important ingredient in most of these shows. The range of programs distributed by the Multi-Cultural Children's Television Project[1] reflects this attention to culture in educational programming. Frequently the target audience for which a program is designed is defined by ethnic or cultural characteristics. To satisfy the goals of appealing to the target audience and teaching about culture, the content of these shows includes cultural characteristics as well. While this attention to culture is commendable, the manner in which the cultural content is shaped demands more attention. Although formative evaluation has been used to shape other aspects of these shows, the determination of what should be reflected as the culture of a particular group has been left to the opinions of the members of the production team. Producers have not used systematic means to ensure the accuracy with which the cultural content reflects the culture of a particular group.

Part of the problem in creating the cultural content of these shows comes from the way that the target audience and the program goals are defined. The high cost of production and resulting pressure to reach as many children as possible with a single show, together with the dependency of many educational shows for children on federal funding,[2] has led to rather broad definitions of the target audiences for these television shows. These definitions imply the use of program content characteristics that appeal to all segments of the audience. If the target audience is ethnically diverse, the cultural content of the program tends to reflect that diversity. Similarly, the high aims specified in the program goals of these shows have contributed to the cultural heterogeneity of educational programs for children. Only a few shows have focused on a single cultural group. The shows' creators have selected the cast of characters from among members of the target audience and have included a particular content to reflect the culture of that group. More frequently, shows have been defined as "multicultural." They have attempted to promote the benefits of diversity by including characters and content from a wide range of cultural groups.

In the past, it has not been economically feasible to shape television programming for a relatively small and narrowly defined target audience. Most educational programming for children has been broadcast on public television. In theory, public television differs from commercial television in that its funding structure allows for programming decisions that are free from the battle for ratings that controls network decisionmaking. It would follow that programming on public stations could depart from "mainstream" content to address segments of the audience that are not reached by commercial television. In fact, public television is charged with the responsibility to do so. Ostensibly, producers of programming for public television are free to experiment with the medium and to create unique programming to meet specific audience needs. In reality, however, exorbitant production costs lead to programming decisions based on the potential size of an audience in public, as well as in commercial television. This constraint has also contributed to the broadly defined program goals that dilute the cultural specificity of educational programming for children.

Despite these constraints, both research and experience point to the need to relate the cultural content of a television show to the culture of the target audience. To the degree that viewers internalize and retain the images of the world that television provides, television defines for them what the world is like, or creates their reality. Television viewers acquire and internalize this reality primarily through the mechanism of observational learning (Bandura, 1977). Children, more than adults, are likely to accept the images of the world that television presents (Comstock et al., 1978; Murray, 1980). Children depend on television, among other socializing experiences, for information about the nature of the world. If television provides information about how to be a member of one's own cultural group, and children retain that information, careful thought should be given to the nature of the cultural information that television transmits to children.

In addition to its socialization or enculturation function, television serves as a teaching tool. Children's education programming is created to achieve specific educational objectives. The aim of teaching about culture complements other program goals that include a broad range of cognitive and social skills. The use of television as a teaching tool emphasizes the importance of cultural accuracy in program content. The literature in bilingual, multicultural, and crosscultural education has demonstrated that children are more comfortable and tend to learn more when the cultural characteristics of the learning environment match those of the group to which the children belong. This same principle applies to television programming. Studies by Collins (1979) and Newcomb and Collins (1979) indicate that children learn best when the characters and the background within which they act resemble people and situations familiar to the viewers.

Aside from these arguments for culturally accurate programming, the use of television as a source of cultural affirmation is a value in itself. The economics of commercial television that leads to programming for a mass audience results in the reflection of "mainstream" culture in most program content. Generally, this implies that members of minority groups are portrayed inaccurately or not at all (Clark, 1979). While television functions to legitimize the content it transmits, the medium has a converse effect on the content it omits. Television acts to de-legitimize those cultural groups it fails to represent. Furthermore, to the degree that viewers internalize the reality that television presents, the medium contributes to the assimilative forces in the society at large by exposing its viewers to "mainstream" program content. On the other hand, the creation of television programming that reflects the reality of minority cultures could be used to counter these de-legitimizing and assimilative effects. Television could serve as a source of cultural affirmation to groups whose reality is distinct from that of the U.S. "mainstream."

Changing technology has altered the economic limitations that have made this type of programming prohibitive in the past. The advent of cable television introduces the possibility of programming for a specific audience; the technology of cable facilitates the direct broadcast of programming to a selective audience. This development makes it economically feasible to tailor programming for a narrowly defined and relatively small audience, by mass-media standards.

Tailoring a production for a particular audience demands a systematic means to ensure the cultural accuracy of the production. The initial step in this process is to define a specific target audience clearly. In many of the shows that have been developed, definitions of the target audience have been specific with respect to a particular age group, but have either addressed a heterogeneous cultural group ("all Hispanic children in the United States") or have added an "all-inclusive" phrase (". . . and all other children of that age group").[3] The kind of definition that promises "something for everyone" in practice leads to a watered-down approach; the need to please every segment of a heterogeneous audience leaves nothing of substance for a particular audience segment. Definitions of the target audience should take into consideration age, ethnic membership, linguistic characteristics, socioeconomic or class characteristics, and regional or geographic parameters when applicable. This specificity serves to ensure that all members of the production team have the same target audience as their focus.

Once the target audience has been defined, the production team must next ensure that members of the target culture participate in shaping the production. The clear definition of the target audience leads to a description of the "target culture," or the population from which individuals can be selected to contribute to the creation of the show's cultural content. It is important, here, to make a distinction between the "target audience" and the "target culture." The definition of the target audience includes age specifications, while the target culture describes the same group without those specifications for age. This distinction is especially important in shaping the cultural component as distinct from other aspects of a television show. The target audience *alone* can provide the production staff with useful information about the degree to which they comprehend or attend to the production. Should the information that the producers obtain about culture be limited to what the target audience can provide, this restricts the information to only a slice of the culture. For example, if the target audience is defined as young children, their verbal skills alone may limit the information they can provide about the culture. Furthermore, different age groups reflect different perspectives on the culture. The shaping of the cultural content demands the multiple perspectives that the participation of a representative sample of members of the *target culture* can provide.

Although members of the target culture may be members of the production team, their participation in the shaping of the production is not sufficient to ensure the cultural accuracy of the production. If the target audience for a particular show is defined in such a way as to include both lower- and middle-class members of the same cultural group or to be aimed at lower-class members of the group, members of the production staff who are also members of the cultural group probably will not be able to represent the lower-class segment of the target audience. It is likely that individuals who have the skills to qualify for production jobs on such shows are members of the middle or upper-middle class. If so, these individuals may be able to represent the target culture as it is manifested in that class. On the other hand, the assimilative effect of the educational and professional experiences that qualify these individuals for production positions may have isolated them so much from other members of their cultural group, even those who share their class background, that they are unable to represent it accurately. Furthermore, the paucity of members of the cultural group who participate in the production may inhibit cultural accuracy. Since culture is a group phenomenon, accurate reflection of any one culture requires the participation of a group of its members. Although any one member of a culture knows its rules, he or she can only reflect it in idiosyncratic form. Therefore, if only one or two members of a cultural group participate in the production of a show, they can bring about the representation of only a slice of their culture.

The third step in this process of shaping culturally accurate programming involves the use of formative evaluation research to construct the cultural content. Formative research is:

> [R]esearch or evaluation administered during the formative stages of a product (a television program in this case) that provides feedback to the production staff, enabling them to modify and improve the product before the final production decisions have been made. Formative research is pretesting programs early enough in the process to take corrective action. (Mielke, 1977, p. 20)

The principal function of formative evaluation is to provide producers with information on which to base their decisions regarding program design. Therefore, the formative research team must anticipate the decisions that producers will have to make in shaping the show to meet its specified objectives and, after conducting their research, must present the production staff with their results in the form of recommendations for making these decisions.

Formative evaluation is not restricted to the use of a single methodology. Any method that yields answers to the questions posed can be used to evaluate a television show during production. In the United States, the need for quick results has limited the formative research process. Thus evaluators have relied on new technology and, in particular, on computers to gather and process data. This reliance on technology has shaped the questions asked and the methods employed to seek answers. Researchers have avoided qualitative studies that are time consuming. Instead, they have opted for quantitative methods in which data can be collected quickly and fed into a computer for instantaneous processing. With the aid of computers, formative researchers can provide producers with information related to their production decisions in a matter of hours.

In the production of educational television programs for children, producers have consulted formative research principally to ensure that cognitive goals are being met and that children are attending to the show. The Children's Television Workshop, the organization responsible for the production of "Sesame Street," has set the precedent for this use of formative evaluation in children's programming.[4] Formative research has not been employed to verify the cultural aspect of television productions. In the few cases in which research on children's educational productions has addressed the issue of culture, this research has constituted a relatively minor part of the formative research process. As a result, its findings have had minimal impact on the content of the production (Williams and Van Wart, 1974; Bilingual Children's Television, no date). Or, in some cases, questions related to culture have been posed at the summative stage of evaluation. Consequently, the findings of this research have not been fed back into the production (Ball and Bogatz, 1970; Bogatz and Ball, 1971). On the whole, steps have not been taken to ensure the accuracy of cultural content in children's educational programming through the formative research process.

The research described here was conceived to explore how formative evaluation could be used to shape the cultural content of a children's educational television show. It addresses the question: by what process can educational shows for children be designed so that their cultural content accurately reflects the culture of the target audience? The research is designed to simulate a formative evaluation that draws upon the cultural knowledge of members of the target culture to assess the accuracy of the cultural content of a television show. The research will yield both the cultural information supplied by "informants" and the implications drawn from this study for the development of a formative research methodology that addresses the cultural content of television programming. It is anticipated that the results of this research will lead to the development of such a research process. Since this study is still in progress, the aim of this paper is to describe the rationale underlying the research and to report on the preliminary findings.

Methodology

Overview

Formative evaluation research is not wedded to any specific methodology. Instead, the nature of the questions to be answered determines the methods employed in a particular formative evaluation. The questions addressed in most previous formative research on children's educational television have lent themselves to quantitative methods. By contrast, questions of culture demand a qualitative approach. The research described here has borrowed both from ethnographic methods used in anthropological research and from the technique of qualitative, in-depth interviewing used by ethnographers and clinical psychologists.

The objective of ethnographic research is to elicit the meanings of events and activities within a particular social scene from the individuals who create and participate in that social scene. The ethnographer becomes a "participant observer" who employs techniques of questioning that will reveal these meanings. The unit of analysis for the ethnographer is a culture or a subsection of a culture, defined as:

> Any social network forming a corporate entity in which social relations are regulated by custom. (Erickson, 1973, p. 10)

Ethnographers must reside in the culture and involve themselves with it for a long enough period so that they can make sense of the culture as seen from within.

This study draws from ethnographic research in several ways. As in ethnographic research, the unit of analysis is a particular cultural group. The aim of the researcher, broadly described, is to elicit from informants the meanings of activities and events in the social scene. Informants are selected by networking within the cultural group to maximize variation across that group. The study differs from ethnographic research in other ways.[5] The "social scene" under study is the content of a children's television show. The elicitation process itself focuses primarily on the degree to which the informants have created and participated in events similar to those represented on the television screen. Through interviews, the researcher attempts to discover whether the activities and events as they are portrayed in the television show constitute a part of the culture of the informants. The study differs from an ethnography, as well, in that the researcher has not spent a long period of time living in the community under study and participating in its activities.

The study described here is a simulation of a formative evaluation conducted to assess the accuracy of the cultural content of a television show. Tapes of an existing television show have been presented to informants as if they were pilot tapes of a television show under production being tested for their appropriateness for the intended target audience. The researcher has sought reactions to the tapes with the aim of feeding this information back to the producer who, in turn, would use the information to modify the production. Qualitative, in-depth interviews have been used to elicit information about the tapes from the informants. The researcher has directed the inquiry toward a determination of the plausibility that the events and activities portrayed on the television show would take place — in reality or in fantasy — within the context of the culture of the informants. As a simulation of a formative evaluation, the research has led to two types of results: the cultural information that the informants have supplied (and that would be reported to the production staff in an actual formative evaluation), and recommendations derived from the experience of conducting research on cultural content, for the development of a formative research methodology focused on culture.

Stimulus Tapes

The stimulus or "pilot" tapes are segments from "Villa Alegre," a children's educational television show. "Villa Alegre" is produced in Oakland, California, by BCTV, Inc. (formerly called Bilingual Children's Television). Funded primarily by the U.S. Department of Education, the show originated in 1974. Six seasons of half-hour programs have been produced. Segments used in this research come from the fifth season of production ("Series E"), originally broadcast in

1979. The series is designed for "Hispanic children" in the early elementary grades in the United States.

Several considerations guided the selection of "Villa Alegre" for use in this study. The target audience for "Villa Alegre" is a specific, though heterogeneous, cultural group.[6] The show employs cultural content to appeal to its target audience. Due to other interests of the researcher, the age range of the target audience added another reason to use the show.

Two different stimulus tapes were prepared: one to be used for individual interviews and the other for group interviews. Each tape included two film, two video, and two animated segments. This distinction between presentation styles was made because the styles constitute production categories for the BCTV staff, which classifies and refers to segments by presentation style. Furthermore, different kinds of content material are presented within each production style. This suggests that the nature of the cultural information presented in each one may differ as well. An exploration of differences between these three presentation styles is also important because they are used widely not only in "Villa Alegre" but also in other educational shows for children.

The criteria that guided the selection of segments for use in the research included:

1. The use of English and Spanish in each segment
2. Segments that addressed cultural issues or that attempted to promote cultural pride[7]
3. Segments that would contribute to the portrayal of an equal number of characters of each sex within each tape and across the twelve segments
4. Segments that, when edited together, would provide a balance in the subject matter addressed in the two videotapes
5. A predominance of Hispanic characters[8]
6. Segments that avoided potentially controversial topics such as divorce[9]
7. Segments that avoided geographically specific events, such as the Renaissance Faire and the San Francisco Exploratorium.

Sample

Chicano residents of San Jose, California constitute the "target culture" from which the sample of informants has been drawn. While the term "Chicano" has been defined a number of ways (Fairchild and Cozens, forthcoming), the term is used in this study to refer to persons of Mexican origin who reside permanently in the United States.

Members of the sample either were born in the United States or had resided in the U.S., after coming from Mexico, for a minimum of ten years.

The original design of the study stipulated that forty individuals, ten from each of four age groups, were to be selected as informants.[10] The four age groups are:

1. Children between six and eight years of age (the age of the target audience for which "Villa Alegre" was designed)
2. Teenagers between twelve and seventeen years of age
3. Adults between twenty-five and forty years of age
4. Adults forty-five years of age and older.

This sampling by age groups reflects the expectation that age will affect an individual's perspective on culture. In addition, pressures to assimilate into the mainstream culture may vary across the lifespan of an individual, and the effect of these pressures may vary with the person's stage in life. Nevertheless, they will influence his or her perspective on the culture. The age groups have been designated to provide a cross-section of potential age-related effects.

Gender and class membership are additional factors that may affect the informants' perspective or culture. Therefore, equal numbers of male and female informants have been selected in each age group. Half of the informants are members of professional families; half are members of working-class families. Since English and Spanish are used on the stimulus tapes, informants who speak both languages have been selected. The establishment of these criteria for the selection of informants has not precluded some variation within each age group in language use, degree of assimilation, and length of residence in the United States. This variation is being taken into consideration in analyzing and interpreting the information from the informants.

The San Jose community from which the sample was drawn consists of two adjacent elementary school attendance areas. The neighborhood was built up around a cannery. The number of Chicanos in the cannery workforce and in the surrounding community grew to predominance in the mid-1940s. It is an older, established area that continues to be Chicano and working class. Residences are single-story, two-bedroom dwellings. It was selected as the site for the study because of the presence of Chicano professionals, who have begun to move back to the area, and working-class individuals in the same community. Interviews have been conducted in the two elementary schools and in a community center that hosts activities for community residents of all ages. The staffs of the schools and the center have assisted in the selection of informants.

Procedure

Both individual and group interviews will be conducted[11] because of the expectation that each type of interview will yield information of a different nature. While the informant may talk more freely in the individual interview, the content of her or his comments may reflect an idiosyncratic perspective on the culture. In contrast, members of a group may be somewhat inhibited in their responses by the presence of others. Yet, the response of the group to the tapes may provide a different perspective that reflects the culture as a group phenomenon. All informants in the study will participate in the individual interviews; half of the informants in each age group will participate in the group interviews as well. A different stimulus tape will be used for each type of interview.

The initial step in the individual interviews is to establish the concept of "culture" or "cultural information" for the informant. The researcher establishes this concept by exposing informants to a brief videotape of another cultural group. A segment of the children's educational series "Bean Sprouts" was used for this purpose. Selected because of its resemblance to "Villa Alegre" in its production style, in the age group for which it is designed, and in the relative specificity with which its "target audience" is defined, "Bean Sprouts" portrays Chinese American children in San Francisco. After showing this tape, the researcher asks the informant to comment on "how things are done" by members of the cultural group portrayed in the videotape and to compare that with "how the same things are done" by members of the informant's cultural group. This stage of the interview gives the informant practice in responding to questions about a television show and clarifies the concept of "cultural information" prior to eliciting responses to the "Villa Alegre" tapes.

Immediately afterwards, the individual views all six segments on the stimulus tape. She or he is asked to comment on the cultural content of the tape in response to questions posed by the researcher. The informant then views the same stimulus tape a second time. In this second viewing, the researcher stops the tape after each segment and asks detailed questions about the content of the particular segment. The interviewer also instructs the informant to stop the tape, using a pause button, when she or he sees something upon which to comment. The researcher encourages the informant to comment as frequently as possible on any aspect of the segment (or tape as a whole) to which she or he has a reaction. The entire interview is recorded on audio tape.

A similar procedure is used in conducting the group interviews. The step in which the concept of culture is established, however, is eliminated because all of the informants have participated in the individual interviews prior to the group session. A different stimulus tape is used for the group interview. The group sees the tape one time, after which the researcher questions group members on their responses to the tape. During the second viewing, questions are asked after each segment. Group members are encouraged to stop the tape and comment on its content as many times as they wish. When differences of opinion about the content of the tape arise among members of the group, the researcher asks the informants to clarify the nature of the disagreement. When appropriate, the researcher asks informants to verbalize reactions to the videotape communicated through shifts in posture, changes in facial expression, or other nonverbal responses. The group interviews are also recorded on audio tape.

The primary language of the interviews is English. Prior to the interview, however, the researcher ensures that each informant recognizes her ability to speak and understand Spanish by providing some of the initial instructions and asking background questions in Spanish. The researcher encourages informants to respond in Spanish and, at times, asks the questions in Spanish.

Preliminary Results

Based on initial interviews with informants, preliminary results focus primarily on informants' perceptions of the cultural content of the videotapes. Only one recommendation for a formative research methodology, based on the implications of this study, can be drawn; at the present stage, other recommendations are premature. Some age differences do appear in the informants' responses. At this time, there are insufficient data to predict differences by gender or class. To date, no group interviews have been conducted. Therefore, no comparisons of individual and group perspectives on the culture can be made. With these limitations, the following conclusions can be drawn from the interviews.

The overwhelming impression of the informants was that the people and events reflected on the "Villa Alegre" tape were very much like the people they knew and the things they did. In essence, the television show looked like real life. Informants judged the actions of the children portrayed on the show, in particular, to be realistic. The convincing characters included a boy who told of hitting his friend, a brother and sister who brought a dog into their bedroom, and various children who talked about what they wanted to be when they grew up. Both their behavior and the attitudes they expressed were what made these children seem so true to life.

The major distinction that the informants found between the way people act in real life and the behavior people exhibited on the television show was the observation that "people get angry a lot more in real life than they do on that show." Informants felt, for example, that a child who had hit his or her friend would have been kept away from friends or disciplined in some other way for having hit another child.

Similarly, the parents who found that their children had brought a puppy into the bedroom at night would have been angry or, at a minimum, would have expressed some irritation at their children.

In reporting on the reality of the "Villa Alegre" segments, however, informants often did not make a clear distinction between "the way things *are*" and "the way they *should* be." Informants revealed this lack of clarity with comments like, "Yes, that's real. Parents should spend time talking to their children." In this comment, the informant has verified the reality of what parents *should* do. What parents actually do has not been reported. Despite their insistence on the similarity between the scenes on the "Villa Alegre" tape and real life, informants injected their comments liberally with "shoulds." The researcher's questions failed to prompt informants to make this "is/ought" distinction, even though the prescriptive quality of their comments implied that real life may not quite match the television show. Instead, "Villa Alegre" represents the way real life *should* be. As such, the program models "ideal" behavior.

Agreement with the messages presented in each of the segments served as further evidence that informants viewed the show as an "ideal." Four of the six segments present viewers with a "moral." These include: "do unto others as you would have others do unto you," "be proud of your parents' jobs" (or "never be ashamed of the work your parents do"), "you can be anything you want to be" (when you grow up), and "love is caring for other people." Although a few informants revealed that their own behavior was at times inconsistent with these messages, they consistently endorsed the messages as "what you *should* do."

The initial interviews reflected some age differences in the informants' judgments of the "Villa Alegre" tapes. Of those interviewed, teenagers made the most distinctions between real life and the situations as they were presented on the television show. For example, teens viewed with skepticism the segment in which the child reports that he has hit his friend. The teenagers readily pointed out that no child in that situation would ever relate his or her misdeed to an adult. The comments of the teenagers were more critical of the show and less idealistic about the values it presented than those of the other informants. For example, the only person who commented on the "poor acting" in one or two of the segments was a teenager. Teens also responded differently from adults to the segment in which a child is admonished by his "alter ego" for being ashamed of his father's job. Giving examples from their own experience to illustrate the truth of their assertions, teenagers insisted that "kids really feel that way." Their examples revealed the dual and complementary pressures on this age group to "be like other kids" and to assimilate into the mainstream. One girl expressed her embarrassment at her mother who did not wear jeans "like the mothers who were born here." In contrast, the adults responded to the segment by insisting that children should not be ashamed of their parents' jobs and denying that children ever had this emotion.

The comments of members of the two adult groups interviewed revealed a concern with the quality of parenting exhibited by parents "nowadays." Two of the six segments illustrated situations in which parents or other adults intervened in the behavior of children. Two other segments showed teachers and children in a classroom setting. These videotaped situations prompted informants to comment on parental behavior. Members of the oldest group (those aged forty-five and over) expressed the opinion that parents and other "authority figures" (such as teachers and the police) portrayed are not "hard enough" on kids. They observed that children "get away with" unacceptable behavior. No one disciplines them. To the older adults, this laxness in disciplining children reflected an undesirable change from "the way things used to be." It must be noted that the two parent-child or adult-child interactions on the videotape portray situations in which the adults neither express anger nor provide any discipline for children who have misbehaved.

These two scenes led the young adults to focus their comments on parental behavior as well. The twenty-five to forty year olds observed that, in general, parents do not spend enough time talking to their children. These informants viewed one scene in the show as an example of how parents *should* interact with their children. In that scene, Doña Luz, a mature, maternal woman who is portrayed as a shopkeeper on the show, talks with a little boy. The boy confesses that he has just hit, and been hit by, a little girl. Doña Luz explains that "boys should not hit girls," reasons with him about the Golden Rule, and then sends him off with a snack for himself and the friend. Informants approved of the way that Doña Luz handled the situation. They added that the key to being a parent was giving children love and attention. One aspect of that attention, as Doña Luz had illustrated, was talking to your children. In fact, one young mother commented that she and her husband often watched television to get ideas on how to handle various situations that confronted them as parents.

Several of the interviewer's questions focused on language use on "Villa Alegre." The show uses a translation style of discourse in which one person speaks to another in English, the second translates what has been said into Spanish before making a response in Spanish, and the first translates the Spanish response into English before adding another comment. In that way, viewers who speak only one of the two languages can follow what is being said. Informants generally approved of the translated interactions. A concern with "politeness" may have motivated this approval. In discussing language use, several informants referred to situations in which, within the family, they spoke Spanish, but switched to English in the presence of others for whom conversation in Spanish might have been difficult. Though accomplishing the same end in a different way, language use on "Villa Alegre" similarly ensures that everyone will understand what is happening.

The researcher asked informants whether the language used on the show was "the way you and your friends talk." For the most part, the Spanish used on the show was perceived to be "just like" the way people in the community talked. The few who felt differently thought that the Spanish on the show was "better" than the Spanish they spoke themselves. In contrast to "Villa Alegre" Spanish, one teenager observed that many people she knew used "incorrect" words such as *pucha la puerta* (instead of *empuja la puerta*). A few others, while approving of the Spanish in general, pointed out individual words, such as *granja* and *nene*, not used by people in their community.

Confirmation that language use on the show was like "the way people really talk" extended to the manner in which the two languages are counterbalanced. Through their observations, informants acknowledged that Spanish-speaking people in the United States do use English and Spanish in the same conversation. Most informants did not recognize that this mixture of languages, what Valdes-Fallis (1976) terms code-switching, takes a somewhat different form in real life than it does on the show.[12] Several informants verified that, at certain times, they did participate in conversations in which one person talked in English and the other responded in Spanish. This occurred, in particular, in exchanges between parents and children when the parent understood, but did not speak, English. The child would speak to the parent in English and the parent would respond in Spanish.

Informants confirmed the presence in their culture of several details portrayed in the videotape. In an animated segment called "Caring Is Love," a man makes a *remedio* or preparation for his daughter when she has a cold. Later, the daughter trips and falls over a tree root. The father scoops her up in his arms and sings her to sleep. These incidents prompted informants to report on similar practices in their own families. They described types of *remedios* made by particular family members to treat different illnesses. Children added that their parents would make them warm foods to "keep their insides warm" when they had a cold. Adults and children described singing to children both to distract them when they had hurt themselves and to put them to sleep. Another segment about a little girl who visits her grandmother on a weekly basis elicited similar confirmations of the accuracy of the televised portrayal. Informants indicated that, if a child's grandmother lived nearby, the child should and would go to visit her grandmother at least once a week.

On the other hand, informants agreed that one aspect of another segment conflicted with "their way of doing things." In that segment, two children sneak their new puppy into their bedroom late at night. Noticing that the puppy is missing, the parents discover it in the children's bedroom. The scene ends as the family sits together, admiring the puppy. Almost without exception, informants commented that they (or, in the case of children, their parents) would not allow a dog in the house. As a result, they found it hard to believe that the parents in that segment would not have shown some signs of anger at the children. Another aspect of that segment, the fact that the two children who share a bedroom are a boy and girl, did not elicit the disapproval that some previewers of the tape had predicted.[13] Instead, informants reported that, while it was definitely preferable for boys and girls of that age to have separate rooms, economics determined sleeping arrangements. Frequently, boys and girls in their own and other families shared the same bedroom.

At this stage of the research, the single implication that can be drawn from these initial interviews for the development of a formative research methodology relates to the age of the informants. On the basis of these initial interviews, it is possible to recommend that six- and seven-year-old children not serve as informants in formative research addressing cultural content unless other types of questioning procedures are developed. Children at this age do not have the cognitive sophistication to answer questions such as those the researcher posed. The children who were queried were readily able to tell what happened on the show (i.e., they could provide a detailed list of "events") but they could not judge what about these events was *the same as* or *different from* the way they did things. When children were asked to take the role of another ("If you were the little boy in that situation, what would you do?") or predict the consequences of a hypothetical situation ("if you had a dog and you brought it inside your house, what would your parents say?"), they were unable to do so. When questions were adjusted to the level of difficulty that these children could handle, the responses yielded little information that was meaningful for the purposes of this study.[14] The researcher has shifted the age range of the youngest children in the study to eight and nine year olds. Subsequent interviews with the new age group have yielded more satisfactory responses.

Conclusion

In U.S. classrooms, the concept of "culture" frequently has been reduced to new foods, quaint folk dances, and unfamiliar holidays. This approach fails to recognize culture as a dynamic phenomenon involving "the way people do things" in their everyday life, not only on distant islands, but in those same U.S. classrooms as well. As culture plays an increasing role in educational television series for children, education about culture moves from the classroom to the television screen. The audiovisual properties of television enliven the potential of this education by making possible the portrayal of a cultural group as it really is. Without guidance, producers may shape this portrayal either by drawing upon artifacts and the "exotic," traditionally used in teaching about culture, or by engaging the characters on the show, identified as members of the cultural group solely by their physical features, in "mainstream" behavior patterns. The dependence on a formative research methodology that relies on the cultural knowledge of members of the target culture should assist producers in avoiding these pitfalls.

This research represents an initial attempt to systematize the process by which the cultural content of an educational television program is shaped. Ultimately, this systematization, developed into a formative research methodology, will facilitate the accurate reflection of the cultural group in a television show. Television is a powerful teacher, potentially shaping the viewer's picture of the world. If television molds the viewer's image of a particular cultural group, the manner of shaping cultural content discussed here offers a way to put the viewer's picture into focus.

Notes

1. Located at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in San Francisco, this project promotes and distributes television programming funded through the Emergency School Assistance Act. Developed to ease the tensions of desegregation, ESAA-funded programs address issues of racial and cultural difference.
2. The U.S. Department of Education (formerly the U.S. Office of Education) has funded a number of educational programs for children. The Emergency School Assistance Act, mentioned above, is only one source of that federal funding.
3. The definitions of the target audience for two nationally recognized educational television programs for children exemplify this breadth. Producers of "Villa Alegre" define their target audience loosely as a national audience of Hispanic elementary-age children. (In different documents, the target age has been reported as "three- to seven-," "three- to six-," and "four- to eight-" year-old children). The target audience for "Sesame Street" is preschool (three- to five-year-old) children of all racial and ethnic groups, with "emphasis" on low-income, urban children.
4. For additional information, consult the formative research history of the Children's Television Workshop and the studies on "Sesame Street" conducted by Daniel Anderson and his colleagues at the University of Massachusetts.
5. Note that this study does not presume to be an ethnography.
6. Despite the diversity implied by the term "Hispanic" in the United States, the target audience of "Villa Alegre" is narrowly defined by comparison with other shows of the same genre. "Sesame Street," for example, is aimed at all preschool children in the United States.
7. An attempt was made to include such segments, although not all segments selected met this criterion.
8. Asian characters appear in many of the "Villa Alegre" segments. Given the intent of this research, such segments were not selected for the stimulus tapes.
9. This was to avoid distracting the informants from the focus on cultural content. By contrast, however, it might be wise to assess audience reaction to such segments in formative research on actual production.

10. Since the interviewing has begun, the age range for the youngest group has been raised to eight and nine year olds. The reason guiding this change is explained in the preliminary results section of this paper.
11. To date, only individual interviews have been conducted. The unusual use of the present and future tenses in the procedure section acknowledges that the research described is now in progress.
12. The same teenager who supplied the *pucha* versus *empuja* example, a girl of thirteen going on thirty-five, when questioned in detail did describe the phenomenon of code-switching in lay terminology. Her own opinion, however, was that code-switching was incorrect usage and, as such, should not be used in a television show for children.
13. For example, a highly educated Chicano male in his mid-forties indicated that parents would never permit a boy and girl of that age to share a bedroom.
14. Their responses did give some indication of the degree to which these target-aged children comprehended the show, however.

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CHAPTER 19

An Approach to Assessing the Impact of State Evaluation Systems upon Limited-English-proficient Students

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Introduction

At this time, little is known concerning the effects of state evaluation systems upon programs and services provided to limited-English-proficient (LEP) populations. This lack of information is delaying the improvement and further development of evaluation methodologies that will eventually provide decision makers with reliable and valid data. The absence of such evaluation procedures ostensibly affects both quality and type of programming offered to LEP students.

The objective of this paper will be to assess the impact of state evaluation systems upon limited-English-speaking students. The literature concerning assessment of evaluation systems does *not* reflect studies based on case study methodology. Specifically, the literature reveals that meta-evaluation models that are either theoretically proposed or in actual use are mostly based on empirical data.

The approach proposed in this paper primarily uses case study methodology. The rationale for the case study methodology stems from the fact that it requires the evaluator using qualitative methods to understand the setting under study through direct personal contact and experience with the particular program. This approach is based on perspectives developed in phenomenology, which is concerned with understanding human behavior from each person's point of view. Phenomenologists believe that human behavior *cannot* be understood without understanding the framework within which those who are being studied interpret their actions, feelings, thoughts, and motives.

Evaluation of Programs and Services Aimed at LEP Students

The literature concerning the evaluation of bilingual programs reveals that the traditional evaluation models have been most widely used (Danoff, 1978; Shuy, 1978; Troike, 1978; Zirkel, 1978; Bissell, 1979; Burry, 1979; Carrillo, 1979; Cohen, 1980; González and Baumanis, 1981). Perhaps the key factor which explains why evaluators have selected these models has been federal and state policies concerning objective-based evaluations (Burry, 1979; Irizarry, 1978). These policies have affected not only bilingual education, but also almost every educational program receiving federal and state monies. The traditional or behavioral objectives model of evaluation is based on the assumption that all learning outcomes are measurable, i.e., quantifiable. The traditional model emphasizes student performance, mastery ability, and aptitudes; progress is measured through the use of prespecified behavioral objectives and standardized achievement tests. The model may also rely heavily on pre-/posttest designs. Stake describes a behavioral objective or "preordinate" evaluation as follows:

> Preordinate studies are more oriented to objectives, hypothesis, and prior experience, mediated by the abstractions of language. Preordinate evaluators know what they are looking for and design the study so as to find it. (Stake, 1975, p. 20)

The application of the traditional behavioral objectives model might well be appropriate for use with a program in which conflicting realities do not exist. In bilingual education, however, as in many of the academic and social action programs initiated in the 1960s and 1970s, consensus regarding program goals and the framework of measurement is nonexistent. In particular, Spolsky, Green, and Read (1974) state that certain factors render bilingual education an unfavorable candidate for evaluation by the behavioral objectives approach; these factors are psychological, sociological, economic, political, religiocultural, and linguistic. Other critical factors which can be used to argue the inappropriateness of utilitarian-type models are the following:

1. The lack of structural and ideological uniformity at the operational level of the program. Although Title VII mandates an assimilationist policy, not all programs function under this ideology. Studies reveal that among programs there exist varying degrees of emphasis on aspects of native language and cultural maintenace (González, 1978).
2. The lack of well-defined, culturally appropriate, criterion-referenced achievement tests available for use in English *and* the child's native language. Currently available norm-referenced standardized tests are culturally biased and inappropriate with nontypical populations (Oakland, 1973; Olmedo, 1978).
3. The pre-/posttest and control group design is frequently unrealistic or impractical due to:
   a. unavailability of control groups
   b. lack of scientific knowledge regarding the time span considered adequate for the visible impact of bilingual programming upon the child's learning (Gray, 1978).
4. Bilingual education programs have three goals — two short-term educational goals and one implicit long-term socioeconomic goal. The behavioral objectives approach could attempt to evaluate only the educational goals. The long-

term social change aim of the program would be ignored. Specifically, the emphasis of the behavioral approach is on quantitative, achievement-oriented data; social effects of a program are not considered, e.g., the model lacks sensitivity to political or social issues (González and Baumanis, 1981).

The Evaluation of the Impact of the ESEA Title VII Spanish-English Bilingual Education Programs (Danoff, 1978) — also known as the AIR study — represents a classic example of problems that may develop when a traditional behavioral objectives design is used to evaluate a social change program. The evaluation was conducted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR), a firm in Palo Alto, California. Initiated in 1975 and mandated for completion by November 30, 1977, the study was designed to include bilingual education programs for Spanish-speaking, Native American, Indo European, Asian, and Pacific language groups. Exemplary programs were identified. The study involved thirty-eight projects in the eleven states and tested a total of 7,700 students, all ranging from second to the sixth grade.

Following a precedent set by previous federal evaluations, the AIR evaluation was based on a behavioral objectives evaluation design. In this case, the behavioral objectives design dictated use of certain procedures and assumptions which were simply not appropriate for bilingual programs. Ultimately, the findings of the AIR report suggested that bilingual programs do not appear to have a significant impact on student achievement. The AIR study avoids the reality that bilingual programs develop and exist in districts that differ markedly in terms of variability of linguistic needs, demographics, availability of well-trained teachers, adequate curricula, district commitment, and level of politicization of communities. As a result, the report fails to distinguish between the effects of strong and weak projects and treats bilingual programs as an undifferentiated uniform whole.

One might speculate that some of the major problems that the evaluation encountered, either during its operational stages or at the time of data interpretation, might have been avoided if a more flexible design had been utilized. In the history of evaluation, the AIR study will remain an affirmation of Cohen's observation on the state of the art in 1973:

> . . . while new programs seek to bring about political and social change, evaluators generally approach them as though they were *standard* efforts to produce change. (Cohen, 1973)

If indeed, as Stufflebeam (1968) claims, the "aim of evaluation is truly to provide information for better decisionmaking at all levels of education," it would seem that one of the primary concerns would be that the evaluation audience be given a valid picture of what goes on in the program. Sound decisions cannot be made using inappropriate or distorted data. Evaluation models based on the utilitarian concept of justice (e.g., the AIR study) have not proven empirically appropriate for use with social action programs such as bilingual education. The traditional tendency to ask, "Which bilingual education program will best serve all Spanish-speaking children in the U.S.?" arises out of the assumption that society can and should measure the maximum idea of satisfaction or the "one best" bilingual education program as proven empirically through test scores. In view of the limitations of the behavioral objective model in evaluating bilingual education programs, one might speculate whether the federal or state governments, i.e., the evaluation audience, have *ever* received a realistic or valid portrayal of such programs.

The vast majority of evaluations conducted of bilingual education programs are "worthless," according to Troike (1978). Indeed, according to Zappert and Cruz (1977), 97 percent of the evaluation and research studies they surveyed were of little help in better understanding this type of program. Perhaps on a more sociopolitical basis, the lack of an appropriate theoretical framework for bilingual education, research, and evaluation has been the direct result of the limited evaluation guidelines established by the U.S. Office of Education. According to Troike (1978), less than one-half of 1 percent of the 500 million dollars spent in the past ten years on bilingual education has been allocated to research. Apple's (1979) comment on current evaluation shortcomings may well have been directed at bilingual education. He states that:

> 1. A great deal of our evaluation efforts are often misguided because they see schools as discrete institutions isolated from social and economic forces, ideologies, and values.
> 2. Given the input-output methodologies we usually employ and the aforementioned lack of socioeconomic sophistication, we shall continue having a good deal of difficulty understanding how and why students actually respond to these efforts. (Apple, 1979, p. 1)

The Study of Evaluations: Meta-Evaluation

Educational evaluation is a relative newcomer to the field of education. Before 1965, there were few evaluations of educational programs and also little thought given to the necessity of this activity. The evaluation requirement in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and in other federal and state mandates resulted in a great deal of evaluation activity. At present, even though a great deal of evaluation activity is taking place, relatively few people have been trained to conduct such work (Anderson and Ball, 1978). Furthermore, a widespread lack of agreement exists about what evaluation is and how evaluation studies should be conducted (Guba, 1969; Wolf, 1979).

According to Stufflebeam (1978), a good evaluation requires that evaluation efforts themselves be evaluated. The evaluation of evaluations is needed both to improve ongoing evaluation activities and to assess the merits of completed evaluation efforts. The label "Meta-Evaluation," first used by Scriven (1969), is typically used to refer to an evaluation of an evaluation. Meta-evaluation is a concept that is in a state of relative infancy, however; it is important to remember that meta-evaluation is new and is only now learning its mistakes and limitations. The newness of meta-evaluation, according to Cook and Gruder (1978), must be kept in its proper perspective. They state the following:

> . . . Some persons might believe that evaluating evaluations by the strictest technical standards is tantamount to treating a *developing* science as though it were already a *developed* science with a large stock of accumulated wisdom. Since evaluation researchers caution each other not to evaluate new projects as though they were stable, it would hardly be logical to evaluate the developing art of evaluation in a summative fashion which implied that it was highly developed. (Cook and Gruder, 1978, p. 13)

The state of the art of meta-evaluation is, at its best, rudimentary and limited. It must be acknowledged that little can be done to overcome "state-of-the-art" problems other than to urge evaluators and educators to keep abreast of latest developments in research methodology and substantive theory (Cook and Gruder, 1978). Stufflebeam states the following in respect to the state of the art of meta-evaluation:

> Discussions of the logical structure of meta-evaluation have been cryptic and have appeared in only a few fugitive papers. These conceptualizations lack reference to research on evaluation, and they do not include extensive analysis of problems actually encountered in practical evaluation work. The writings have lacked detail concerning the mechanics of meta-evaluation. While some devices, such as technical standards for tests, exist, the available tools for conducting meta-evaluation are neither extensive nor well organized. Finally, there are virtually no publicized meta-evaluation designs. (Stufflebeam, 1978, p. 4)

Indeed, the state of meta-evaluation is primitive, and there is a need for both conceptual and technical development in the area. A number of authors have contributed some procedures aimed at assessing the technical quality of evaluations, however. Campbell and Stanley (1963) discussed quasi-experimental and true experimental designs as useful tools for evaluating alternative experimental designs. Sanders and Nafziger (1976) present criteria for assessing evaluation work with particular respect to its objectivity.

Cook and Gruder (1978) discuss the term "meta-evaluation" in reference only to the evaluation of empirical summative evaluations. The authors present seven meta-evaluation models which involve evaluating evaluations either during or after the time of their completion, with a stress on the former. The seven models are:

1. Essay review of an evaluation report
2. Review of the literature about a specific program
3. Empirical reevaluation of a program evaluation
4. Empirical reevaluation of multiple data sets about the same program
5. Consultant meta-evaluation
6. Simultaneous secondary analysis of raw data
7. Multiple independent replications. (Cook and Gruder, 1978, p. 19–46)

Cook and Gruder stress the improvement of technical quality. They do not include in their definition and models of meta-evaluation the evaluation of formative and nonempirical evaluations.

Gowin and Millman (1978) expand the concept of meta-evaluation. The sources for their critique are not limited to the assessment of objectivity and technical quality. Into the critique of evaluation, according to Gowin and Millman, would come ideas of "value theory, epistemology, ethical and social philosophy, and theories of education, as well as from research methodology and statistics, evaluation standards and practices, and research on empirical summative evaluation" (p. 3). The authors initially break down the evaluation work into three tiers:

> At the bottom is whatever is being evaluated. It could be a program, a product, a process, whatever. If a science program in middle schools is being evaluated, then that science program is the first layer. The second layer consists of all the plans, reports, records, interview data, and other documentation generated by the activities of the evaluation study. These documents are the second tier. Next, those materials are analyzed. In doing this analysis we are doing meta-evaluation. The report of that analysis is the third tier. So we have three tiers: first, the event or objects (e.g., the science program); second, the evaluation of that event or object (e.g., the evaluation of the program); third, the analysis of the evaluation. (Gowin and Millman, 1978, p. 3)

Gowin and Millman go on to state that meta-evaluation can take three approaches. The first is concerned with the standards for evaluation. The second is a checklist of questions for evaluation. The third, named QUEMAC (Question, Event-object, Method, Answer, and Concept), is a series of questions which, when answered, reveal the logical structure of evaluation studies. Following the QUEMAC guide, the meta-evaluation examines such questions as the following:

1. What is the significant, telling question of the study? What are the unquestioned assumptions?
2. What is the evaluation about? What events or objects are described?
3. What methods and techniques were used to answer the key questions?
4. What answers were given? What were the major claims of the evaluations?
5. What key concepts does the evaluation use? What is the conceptual structure of the work? (Gowin and Millman, 1978, p. 6)

The analysis of an evaluation report is seen as a first-tier product. The authors perceive that the greatest value of QUEMAC lies in the fact that this particular approach can assist evaluators in systematically asking and answering questions concerning value concepts which otherwise might not be considered. Gowin and Millman state, "The ultimate goal in studying the practice of evaluation is to understand it and improve it in much the same way that the goal of many evaluations (the second tier) is to understand and improve a program or product (the first tier)" (1978, p. 3).

Stufflebeam (1978) views meta-evaluation as a procedure for describing an evaluation activity and judging it against a set of ideas concerning what constitutes good evaluation. In developing a methodology for meta-evaluation, according to Stufflebeam, it is necessary to establish an appropriate set of criteria:

1. Internal validity
2. External validity
3. Reliability
4. Objectivity
5. Relevance
6. Importance
7. Scope
8. Credibility
9. Timeliness
10. Pervasiveness
11. Cost-effectiveness

(Stufflebeam, 1978, p. 5-10)

The eleven criteria are to be used by the researchers conducting the meta-evaluation in assessing evaluation designs and reports. The evaluators cannot insist on optimizing any one criterion. Rather, they must make compromises and strike the best balance they can in satisfying standards of technical adequacy, utility, and cost-effectiveness (Stufflebeam, 1978).

Stufflebeam distinguishes between formative meta-evaluation and summative meta-evaluation. Formative meta-evaluation is proposed "as a direct way of insuring that evaluations will produce results that are technically adequate, useful, and cost-effective," while summative meta-evaluation is conducted in order "to produce public judgments of the merits of the completed evaluation work" (1978, p. 73).

Based on these two types of meta-evaluations, Stufflebeam has developed five meta-evaluation designs, which are summarized in Table 1. There are four pro-active (formative) designs that assist evaluators to determine evaluation goals, choose evaluation designs, carry them out, and use them to produce valuable results and impacts (Designs 1 through 4, respectively). Design 5 provides retroactive (summative) assessments of the overall worth of past evaluation efforts. In practice, according to Stufflebeam, the retroactive meta-evaluation of goals, designs, implementation, and results "are often combined into a single summative case study since they pertain to completed and interrelated sets of evaluation activities" and the four types of proactive meta-evaluations "are usually conducted separately, as they relate to specific decision points in the evaluation process" (1978, p. 76).

A Meta-Evaluation Case Study

The Illinois State Board of Education's Department of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education (DAVTE) recently funded a study (González, 1981) to provide a better understanding of the processes used by the DAVTE in evaluating educational programs and services for limited-English-proficient (LEP) students in Illinois. The study primarily used the case study methodology as a means of getting close to the phenomenon under study.

The literature concerning meta-evaluation (or evaluations of the state evaluation systems) did not reflect studies based on case-study methodology. Specifically, the literature revealed that meta-evaluation models and methodologies that are either theoretically proposed or in actual use are mostly based on empirical data and preestablished criteria and propositions. Meta-evaluations are to be conducted, according to the literature, with decision makers delineating what the areas of concern are and what data need to be gathered in order to make "wise and beneficial" decisions.

A meta-evaluation of the Illinois system of evaluation needed to be particularistic, holistic, and qualitative in nature. A case study with its boundaries defined in terms of a "study providing a better understanding of the process involved in evaluating vocational education programs and services aimed at LEP students in Illinois," may be

Table 1
Five Meta-Evaluation Designs

		Objectives of the Meta-Evaluation			
Purposes of the Meta-Evaluation	**Steps in the Meta-Evaluation Process**	**Evaluation Goals**	**Evaluation Designs**	**Evaluation Processes**	**Evaluation Results**
Proactive meta-evaluation to serve *decision making* in evaluation work	Delineate the information requirements Obtain the needed information Apply the obtained information	**Design #1** Proactive assessment of evaluation goals	**Design #2** Proactive assessment of evaluation designs	**Design #3** Proactive assessment of implementation of a chosen design	**Design #4** Proactive assessments that enhance quality and use of evaluation results
Retroactive meta-evaluation to serve *accountability* in evaluation work	Delineate the information requirements Obtain the needed information Apply the obtained information		**Design #5** Overall retroactive assessments of the merit of a total evaluation effort		

classified as particularistic or focused. The in-depth focus on this topic is justifiable on the basis that it was complex, sensitive, and dynamic. A case-study approach is viewed as a way to understand the complexity of a situation and its parts.

The case study also needed to be holistic in nature. In presenting a holistic view, the case study according to Spirer (1980) would portray "the interplay of the different factors that are brought to bear on the program and tries to present the views of the different groups involved" (p. 13). The results are a rich description and understanding of the program, its complexity, and its dynamic nature (Spirer, 1980).

Included in the body of data were the views and concerns of several groups who are involved in and affected by the onsite evaluation process for vocational education programs in Illinois. Data, views, concerns, and improvement-oriented recommendations were collected from evaluators, local administrators, teachers, counselors, students, and community members, as well as DAVTE personnel. Responses to four major research questions were sought:

1. What procedures has the DAVTE undertaken in order to evaluate programs and services aimed at LEP populations?
2. What are other states doing in evaluating services and programs aimed at LEP populations?
3. What are the views and concerns of the DAVTE staff, local administrators and board members, instructors, students, and community members with respect to the evaluation of programs and services aimed at LEP populations?
4. What is the extent and nature of the impact on local education agencies that were evaluated in FY 1980 and are currently serving LEP students?

The rationale for utilizing the case-study methodology stems from the fact that it requires the evaluator to use qualitative methods and to understand the setting under study through direct personal contact and experience with the particular program. This holistic-inductive approach is based on perspectives developed in phenomenology (Bussis et al., 1973). The phenomenological approach is concerned with understanding human behavior from each person's point of view (Spirer, 1980). The phenomenological approach, according to Patton (1980), is to be used when the

> . . . interviewer wants to maintain maximum flexibility to be able to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate, depending on the information that emerges from observing a particular setting or from talking to one or more individuals in that setting. Most of the questions will flow from the immediate context. Thus, the conversational interview is a major tool used in combination with participant observation to permit the evaluator who is participating in

> some programmatic activity to understand other participants' reactions to what is happening. No predetermined set of questions is possible under such circumstances, because the evaluator does not know beforehand what is going to happen and what it will be important to ask questions about. (p. 199)

As Patton points out, exact questions are not always possible; however, structuring the interviews around issues will assist the researcher in discovering the foci of the inquiry. An issue, according to Stake (1979), is a proposition about which people disagree. He describes it further:

> It is an idea about which there is an extra tension within dynamic processes. It may be something that calls for watchfulness, needing focus and attention. Whether or not people are arguing about it is not crucial, but an issue is something that is felt deserving of and likely ultimately to be prominent in controversy. (p. 2)

Stake (1975) argues elsewhere that humans are the best instruments for many evaluation issues. The important concern for evaluators is to get sufficient information from numerous independent and credible sources so that it effectively represents the perceived status of the program, however complex.

Design of the Study. The study examined the effects of the Illinois evaluation system on programs and services aimed at LEP populations through the use of the following four procedures:

1. Participant-observation, document analysis, and interviews were conducted while the principal investigator participated in three onsite visits to local education agencies (LEAs) providing programs and services to LEP students.
2. A questionnaire was developed to obtain input from other states' vocational education directors regarding what their agencies are doing in evaluating programs and services aimed at LEP students.
3. Interviews were conducted to discover and verify the views and concerns of the DAVTE staff, local administrators, instructors, students, and community members.
4. A second questionnaire was developed to obtain input from selected LEA personnel regarding the impact on programs and services provided to LEP students that were evaluated by the Three Phase System (TPS) in FY 1980 (Illinois State Board of Education, 1979b). Follow-up phone and personal interviews were conducted. In addition, document analyses were conducted to consider the composition of the onsite evaluation team, recommendations made by that team, changes in the One- and Five-Year Plan, and the number of LEP students being served by the LEA.

The study collected and used both qualitative and quantitative data. Multiple types of data were used in this case study. Denzin (1978) calls the use of multiple types of data to study a single problem or program triangulation. This triangulation aids in correcting for the biases present in each type of data. Furthermore, triangulation acknowledges that evaluations usually have multiple purposes which must be carried out under the most demanding conditions (Reichardt and Cook, 1979). Meeting this variety of needs often requires several methods.

The design was structured to acquire the information most needed and most useful within a case study methodology. This particular meta-evaluation of the Illinois state evaluation system required comprehensive familiarization and understanding of the TPS, needs and concerns of LEP students, possible approaches in providing programs and services to LEP students, issues and concerns of decision makers, and the sociopolitical context in which these programs operate.

The Illinois evaluation process was discovered to be a formidably positive factor in the overall maintenance, growth, and quality of vocational education programs and services in Illinois. At the same time, however, this study revealed that the process was having only a minimally positive impact on vocational education programs and services serving LEP students. While vocational education programs aimed at LEP populations are a relatively recent educational endeavor, very little is known about the operation of these programs, the instructional practices, and the effects on trainees in Illinois. The same is true of most other states.

The Illinois state evaluation system, in accomplishing its three general goals of developing, planning, and ensuring accountability for vocational education, should serve to make persons involved in vocational education more aware of LEP issues and concerns. Furthermore, the onsite process in evaluating services provided to LEP populations should also serve to increase the awareness of and emphasis on LEP students within the state and local education agencies. In addition to fostering this increased awareness of and emphasis on LEP students, formative program data would assist LEAs in making appropriate changes and improvements in programs and services provided to their LEP population.

Discussions on the Usage of Meta-Evaluations

The evaluation of an evaluation system is not a frequently undertaken endeavor of most federal or state education agencies. It is not an annual practice to commission research on the effectiveness or impact of evaluation systems, even though these evaluation systems may have raised many concerns relative to their own utility. Questions have often been raised concerning the choice of appropriate evaluative criteria, the requirement of specialized skills and trained personnel, the evaluation by specialists which may cause some counterproductive side effects, and the usefulness of evaluation results.

In the process of conducting this particular meta-evaluation of the Illinois evaluation system, it was discovered that only Florida and Massachusetts had ever undertaken such an effort. The Vocational Education Amendments of 1976 made no provisions for the evaluation of its own formal process (Title II, Section 112 of P.L. 94-482) of evaluating vocational education programs. As discussed earlier, the federal regulations implementing Section 112 have four aspects of evaluation. The fourth phase focuses on the results of services provided to the LEP, the disadvantaged, the handicapped, and minorities, and women. The regulations, cited in the *Federal Register* of October 4, 1977, failed to provide specifics on how to accomplish this task; they also failed to provide a specific evaluation of this overall evaluation section.

The study conducted in 1980 by the National Institute of Education (NIE), which focused on significant consequences of selected changes in federal vocational education legislation adopted in 1976 (Education Amendments of 1976, P.L. 94-482), did not use a case-study, phenomenological approach. The report contains descriptive and numerical data but does not provide a better understanding of the processes used to evaluate vocational education programs and services (NIE, 1980). Nor does the NIE provide a comprehensive picture of the current evaluation processes used nationally. The data in this study do not include the views and concerns of persons who are involved in or affected by the evaluation process for vocational education programs.

Future meta-evaluation of major evaluation systems should consider the use of case study methodology to accomplish its evaluative task. The study of the Illinois state evaluation system has provided an approach on how to conduct an evaluation of a state-wide evaluation system. This approach can serve as a prototype for future meta-evaluations intended to provide a better understanding of the evaluation processes used by national and state education agencies. The utilization of participant observation, questionnaires, and intensive interviews demonstrates that both qualitative and quantitative approaches can be used simultaneously. As in the González (1981) study, multiple types of data can be collected which serve to amplify, clarify, verify, and triangulate the themes and issues in the data themselves. This case-study approach is able to increase the understanding of the TPS process through the views and concerns of those persons involved in or affected by the evaluation process.

The data collected through participant-observation and personal interviews yielded the most useful information in this meta-evaluation study. These data were particularly useful in gaining a better understanding of the processes used by the DAVTE in evaluating vocational education programs and services aimed at LEP students. Utilizing the case-study methodology required the investigator, using participant observation and interviews, to understand the evaluation process through personal contact and direct experience with the system. This approach enabled the meta-evaluation to provide a better understanding of the evaluation system via the actions, feelings, thoughts, and motives of those persons involved in or affected by the evaluation process.

In retrospect, this meta-evaluation was implemented without major difficulties, a situation best explained on the basis that the state agency (the DAVTE) provided a full endorsement of the study. The DAVTE provided not only fiscal support, but also advice on the planning and conduct of the study. The SEA's assistance ensured access to past evaluation reports, participation in several onsite evaluations, lists of LEAs that were being or going to be evaluated by the evaluation system, lists of team leaders and members, and lists of LEAs receiving reimbursement for providing services to LEP students.

The support and endorsement of this meta-evaluation did not occur by chance. Deliberate and focused efforts were made to establish communication between the state agency and meta-evaluation personnel. This effort to establish a liaison provided an opportunity for both parties to gain a clear, indepth view of the expectations for the meta-evaluation. An area which did not receive enough definition was the role of the evaluator. Within this specific meta-evaluation, the lack of a well-defined role for the evaluator possibly hindered the use and dissemination of results. It was not clear whether the recommendations made within the context of the meta-evaluation report were to be vigorously implemented or taken as suggestions without follow-through. Future meta-evaluations should delineate the specific role and function of the evaluator and also the intended uses for the results.

Related to the concern of utilization of results is the cost effectiveness of this type of evaluation. It is important to recognize the extent to which fiscal and human resources are already invested in elaborate state evaluation systems. The TPS was found to be the moving force for the growth of vocational education programs in the last ten years; however, only limited studies had been conducted to examine the use of results and recommendations generated through the TPS. The utility of an evaluation process is usually measured by the extent to which its results are applied. In considering the impact the TPS has had on vocational education programs in Illinois, it seems logical to conduct case-study meta-evaluations to provide a better understanding of the processes of the TPS. Even though case-study methodology requires experience with the setting under study through direct contact and intensive interviews, these qualitative procedures yield data which are very helpful in determining the usefulness of the evaluation system. The cost effectiveness is best viewed within the context of how the meta-evaluation results are utilized.

Evaluation findings invariably affect educational programs. House (1976) depicts evaluation as an instrument used to decide who receives what:

> Evaluation is by its nature a political activity. It serves decisionmakers, results in reallocation of resources and legitimizes who gets what. It is ultimately implicated in the distribution of basic goods in society. It is more than a statement of ideas: it is a mechanism for distribution, one which aspires to institutional status. (p. 76)

There is a need for conceptual and technical development of evaluation procedures that will assist funding sources, administrators, instructors, students, and community members to understand the complexities of these new programs and services. While federal legislation and regulations have helped to develop criteria for defining bilingual education, very little is known about the operation of these programs, their instructional practices, and the effects on trainees. An evaluation system should serve to make persons involved in vocational education more aware of issues and concerns for LEP students. Evaluation activity aimed at evaluating services provided to LEP populations should also serve to increase the awareness of and emphasis on LEP students within the local education agency. In addition, program developers, administrators, instructors, and other interested persons need informative program data to assist them in improving the programs and services provided to their LEP populations.

An evaluation of a vocational education program serving LEP students should serve many purposes, and go beyond simply examining current services. Such an evaluation should also determine whether the services provided are the ones that are needed by the specific populations being served. In addition, it must assess whether the existing services are comprehensive enough to meet the needs of potential as well as current students. The evaluation results might indicate that certain programs could be improved by adding services, deleting services for which there is no evident need, or simply adjusting already existing services to ensure that they better serve the needs of LEP students.

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PART III

Public Policy Perspectives

The issue has always been politics,
but our people also need to be educated.

CHAPTER 20

In the Wake of Conservative Reaction: An Analysis

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Introduction

The 1980 presidential and congressional elections heralded a new level of controversy regarding continued federal support for bilingual education. What one sociolinguist described as a "gathering of vultures" has come to pass, with the survival of bilingual education precariously balanced at the onset of the 1980s (Fishman, 1977). The escalated intensity of controversy is not unexpected, nor has it continued unabated, given the currents of criticism over the past decade.

In 1974, the year of the *Lau* v. *Nichols* Supreme Court decision, Stephen Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post* accused Congress in its support for bilingual education of radically altering "the traditional way by which immigrants became Americanized," namely the "'melting pot,' assimilating foreigners to a common culture" (cited in Bethell, 1979). However, the primary challenges would arise within several years from another journalist of the *Washington Post* and from a flawed evaluation of bilingual programs conducted by a private research institute (Epstein, 1978; Danoff, 1978). The focus of attention for the remainder of the decade, these two studies were cited in support of arguments from political opponents and were criticized by education researchers who recognized the studies' shortcomings (Cárdenas, 1977; Gray, 1977; Iiams, 1977; O'Malley, 1978; Troike, 1978; Bernal, García, and Zamora, 1979; Bethell, 1979; and Edwards, 1980).

Moreover, these particular incidents crystallized the importance of prevailing ideology, substantiation of research, and the dissemination of information through mass media as critical and interrelated factors for any long-term federal economic support of bilingual education. Central to these interrelated factors, the mass media have appeared to respond to select sectors of the public suggesting a less than balanced coverage of developments and their implications. The importance of the media as a disseminating factor has been stressed by Valdez (1979), and Fernández (1981), among others. This importance will be examined in the context of events.

Our primary purpose is to provide an overview and an analysis of political developments following the 1980 elections. The primary focus is upon political happenings at national and state levels, particularly in Illinois. Our research has led us to hypothesize that developments in Illinois serve as a barometer of the national climate in the United States. We will begin by examining political developments affecting bilingual education first from a national and then from a state perspective. Finally, we will offer an analysis of current developments with a view toward future action.

An Overview of National Developments

The school has served as a powerful socializing agent throughout past immigrations to the United States (Hartmann, 1948; Kazamias and Massiales, 1965; Greer, 1970). Events of the past decade have placed the role of this agent in context of evolving social, economic, and political patterns. Trends in bilingual education which have been expounded upon by Andersson and Boyer (1980), Cordasco (1976), and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977), among others, reflect a struggle between egalitarian and authoritarian ideologies within the context of classic Jeffersonian versus Hamiltonian philosophical antecedents (see Martínez, 1974; O'Barr and O'Barr, 1976; Heath, 1977a; Spolsky, 1978; Seidner, 1980). Keeping to our intent of exploring more recent events, we find ideological counterparts in current statements by public leaders. Congressman John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) declared bilingual programs, in essence, to be a breeding ground for future welfare clients (cited in Bethel, 1979). The president of the American Federation of Teachers declared in October 1980:

> There is no evidence that any given method of teaching children who do not speak English is better than the other. Were there overwhelming evidence that one approach is successful while others are not, it might make sense to mandate the successful program. . . . This new policy is a radical change. It is bad for the child. It will do harm to the nation. (Shanker, 1980, p. 6)

Another editorial appeared at the end of November in *Newsweek*, written by Henry Catto, the chairperson of the Washington Communication Corporation, which publishes *The Washington Journalism Review*. Under the title "Our Language Barriers," the editorial attacked the proposed Lau regulations in the following manner:

> The principal defenders are mostly Hispanics, a healthy sprinkling of the New Left reformers and teachers' organizations for whom bilingualism provides the twin threats of a cause perceived as progressive to fight for and thousands of teaching jobs. (Catto, 1980, p. 25)

During the same period, Patricia Fisher of the *Seattle Times* championed the views of State Rep. Helen Sommers (D-Wash.) in arguing that teaching limited-English-proficient students through the medium of their native language would hinder "their ability to learn English." Supporting Sommers's activities to "replace the State's Bilingual Act," Fisher concluded that bilingual programs pose obstacles to the acquisition of English, thwarting students in "social and educational development" (Fisher, 1981).

Secretary of Education Hufstedler addressed the San Antonio hearings for the proposed Lau regulations and said:

> Throughout our work, we have been guided by two principles. First, each child must learn English—and must learn it as quickly as possible. Second, while learning the language, children must not be allowed to fall behind their English-speaking classmates in other academic subjects. If either principle is neglected, all our promises of equal educational opportunity will remain empty rhetoric. (Hufstedler, 1980, p. 66)

The president of the Carnegie Foundation issued a report in which he pointed out that:

> . . . the United States has the fourth largest Spanish-speaking population of any country in the Western hemisphere. New York has the fifth largest Spanish-speaking population of any city. It is projected that by the twenty-first century, two out of three inhabitants in the Western hemisphere will be of Latin American extraction. More persons will speak Spanish than any other language in the Americas including English. (Pifer, 1980, p. 19)

The report followed the published findings and recommendations of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies the preceding year. The Commission urged the development of U.S. bilingual resources to their fullest capacity, and warned against a dangerous ethnocentrism which threatened the United States (Pifer, 1980). An article in *U.S. News and World Report* characterized the "Bilingual American" as an "endangered species." The article reported that one in fifty U.S. residents is fluent in a second language compared with one in every five Japanese, according to estimates. Eight percent of colleges and universities in the United States currently require credits in a language other than English for admission, in comparison with 34 percent in 1966. The article also cited Rep. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), who stated that "there are more teachers of English in the Soviet Union than there are students of Russian in the U.S." (*U.S. News and World Report,* 1981, p. 57-58; also see Roeming, 1971; Twarog, 1980).

A number of researchers had already compiled studies which demonstrated the benefits of bilingual education. Dulay and Burt (1978) cited nine studies and three evaluations in support of bilingual education. Troike (1978) offers findings from twelve other unpublished investigations; other research reports have been summarized by the Center for Applied Linguistics (1977), Hornby (1977), Zappert and Cruz (1977), and National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (1980).

An analysis of the above-mentioned items from either end of the ideological scale reveals the following:

1. Articles and statements by Bethell, Shanker, Fisher, and Catto appeared in widely disseminated public journals, ad-

dressing a large sector of the U.S. public, including a general audience of educators and policymakers.

2. Responses to public statements hostile toward bilingual education have not been effectively formulated or disseminated to the general public. For example, Catto's implication of bilingual education as a jobs program is indicative of popular issues which are more widely disseminated than research-based reports. Compared with the publicity received by the AIR report in the *Washington Post, Los Angeles Times,* and *New York Times,* the Carnegie Foundation report did not gain public notice.
3. Research evidence regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education has either been overlooked, avoided, or attacked. Shanker's statement, for example, advances a personal premise as a given fact which is built upon throughout the editorial. The impact of research evidence has failed to reach even supportive sectors, such as the Carnegie Foundation, which relied heavily upon demographic factors.

One of our premises is that the wide dissemination of popular pieces, such as those cited above, has played upon public fears, reinforced several centuries' worth of xenophobic patterns, and set the stage for Secretary T. H. Bell's announcement of February 2, 1981 regarding the withdrawal of the proposed Lau regulations. Citing them as too harsh and inflexible for implementation, Bell was acting under the new administration's instructions to reduce federal regulation (editorial, *New York Times*, February 4, 1981; also see Reid and Epstein, 1981; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education *FORUM* 4, no. 3, March 1981).

It is interesting to note that publications with a large audience, such as *Time* (February 16, 1981, p. 63), interpreted the withdrawal of the proposed regulations as the removal of the legal mandate for bilingual education and the elimination of federal support for bilingual programs. In spite of the withdrawal, the U.S. Department of Education remains under court order to publish regulations, as stipulated in the litigation of *Northwest Arctic School District* v. *Califano* (1978) (see NCBE *FORUM* 4, no. 4, April 1981, p. 5). Out of the twenty publications we surveyed (Seidner and Seidner, 1982), not one indicated any knowledge that the 1975 guidelines for meeting needs of limited-English-proficient students were still in effect. None indicated that the proposed regulations offered alternative approaches to programs for diagnosed limited-English-proficient students. Editorials, letters to the editors, and news coverage reinforced the linkage of the withdrawn regulations to a tacit acknowledgment on the part of the federal government that bilingual education was a failure. However, a news release from the National Association for Bilingual

Education (NABE), conveying the organization's official position and response to the withdrawal, was not included by any of the twenty publications surveyed (NABE *News Release*, February 3, 1981).

On February 6, NABE officers met with Secretary Bell, who indicated a general plan to shift the responsibility of formulating programs for limited-English-proficient students from the federal to the state level (NABE, *News Release*, February 10, 1981). Bell also addressed the National Hispanic Forum, stating that the withdrawal of the proposed regulations did not signal the administration's lack of support for bilingual education. Media coverage of these events is characterized by a response to statements by public officials, virtually ignoring educators or researchers. Another development illustrated this more dramatically.

On March 2, 1981 President Reagan addressed the National League of Cities, claiming it to be "absolutely wrong and un-American to have a bilingual program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language, and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate" (cited in NABE, *News Release*, March 2, 1981). Using Fairfax County, a basically upper-class community with a strong ESL-only program, Reagan cited the achievements of representative children from various ethnolinguistic groups in the county as an example of a school system where bilingual education would not be necessary for compliance with the proposed regulations. By his statement, Reagan linked the political aspects of the regulations to the lack of potential benefits from bilingual education. Briefly examining Reagan's example of Fairfax County, we find some relevant information in a summary of findings from Dr. Antonio Califa, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of Litigation, Enforcement, and Policy, to Dr. Linton Deck, Division Superintendent, Fairfax County Public Schools. The following is summarized from the letter (December 30, 1980):

1. Data submitted by the Fairfax County Public Schools (FCPS) to the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) indicate 6,000 students with a primary or home language other than English, representing over fifty different language groups. FCPS claims to have hired teachers for their ESL/tutorial programs; however, no indication has been made as to the nature or levels of language competence on the part of the hired staff. Nor has any indication been made regarding their subject area expertise or an inclination by FCPS to pursue this concern.

2. The pupil-teacher ratio claimed by FCPS is quite impressive if one were not cognizant of its economic potential—12 students per one teacher. FCPS expenditures in salaries are approximately $1,400,000 for instructional staff. In addition to a regular per capita expenditure of $2,696, FCPS allots an ad-

> ditional $750 on an average for each limited-English-proficient student. *In terms of cost effectiveness, this is nearly twice the average per pupil cost for bilingual education in Illinois.* [emphasis added]

3. Finally, there is no empirical evidence emanating from FCPS to indicate whether or not their program is working. Particular attention should be given to questions of achievement, methodology in data collection and evaluation, and comparability of populations and scores.

The week following President Reagan's address, Secretary Bell met with members of the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education (NACBE) and acknowledged that although the ESEA Title VII legislation for bilingual education is not directly related to Lau, "a lot of people tie the two together." Bell further indicated that:

> The President's views on Bilingual Education are not all negative. . . . He has had some concerns as to how much bilingual teachers are dedicated to solving the limited English proficiency matter. . . . I don't know, I wasn't there when the statement was made. But I do know from what the President said at the time we were discussing this, and in meeting earlier, that he has some positive feelings as to the value of the proper and appropriate emphasis upon Bilingual Education. I don't know if he meant to criticize the emphasis in this other area or not. *I guess we all would have some concern if there wasn't any progress made for children of limited English proficiency. We'd all be concerned about this.* (National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, March 1981, p. 16; emphasis added)

Observations on the last comments could serve as a brief recapitulation. First, a generally negative assumption permeates the remarks regarding the efficacy of bilingual programs for acquiring English. Second, the secretary's response indicates unfamiliarity with existing literature in the field. Third, an allusion is made to incompetence on the part of bilingual teachers. It is interesting to note that the memorandum issued by the secretary at the end of March stressed that "deregulation should not be construed as an intent on our part to not carry out the responsibilities . . . to . . . encourage full compliance with the Civil Rights of children with limited English proficiency" (Bell, 1981).

The media later reported a draft study which appeared to discredit the effectiveness of bilingual education (e.g., *The Washington Post*, September 29, 1981). At this writing, a total of seven reports by the authors of this study, Baker and de Kanter, and their colleagues have been released by the Department of Education's Office of Planning and Budget (NCBE *FORUM*, April 1982, p. 5). A political agenda in the guise of research was suggested in a recent in-depth analysis of the report (Seidner, 1981b). The authors of the report, Baker and de Kanter, claim to have conducted an independent and thorough research study of the effectiveness of bilingual education. Baker and de Kanter acknowledged, nonetheless, that "the investigation was begun at the request of the White House Regulatory Analysis and Review Group for an assessment on the effectiveness on bilingual education" (Baker and de Kanter, 1981, p. 1).

The analysis of the report was presented before the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education, documenting bias, questionable research approaches, and an apparent political agenda (Seidner, 1981b). The Council recommended an investigation of the Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation by the Office of the Inspector General, for the preconceived and deliberate attempt, in potential collusion with other sectors, to discredit bilingual education (NACBE, December 12, 1981). Also, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) passed a resolution of active support for the Council's recommendation during their annual meeting in Detroit (*NABE News*, March–May 1982).

The impact of newspaper coverage which depicted the government as disavowing bilingual education was immediate and injurious to possible legislative reauthorization and appropriations. Sen. Walter D. Huddleston (D-Ky.) mailed letters to his colleagues citing the "recent Department of Education report, which conclusively shows that bilingual education has not been effective" (letter from Sen. Walter D. Huddleston to his colleagues, U.S. Senate, December 3, 1981). The letter requested support for his bill, which attempts to limit to one year the period for students in bilingual programs. This "may be" extended for a maximum of one additional year, pending "individual evaluations" (attachment to letter from Sen. Walter D. Huddleston to his colleagues, December 3, 1981: Draft of S. 269712.427 [S. 2002], 97th Congress, 1st Session).

A series of hearings was scheduled in Washington, D.C. for April 23 and 26, 1982 to consider the Huddleston bill as well as contemplated changes regarding Title VII legislation. In view of the fact that de Kanter, coauthor of the report, currently works as an aide for Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.), chairman of these hearings, the National Association for Bilingual Education passed a resolution to take precautions ensuring that the proceedings would not constitute a "pro-forma façade" (*NABE News*, March–May 1982, p. 15).

The Baker and de Kanter report and its repercussions appeared to coincide with the failure of Congress to conduct traditional hearings for the reauthorization of Title VII ESEA and the resulting new cycle of appropriations for bilingual education. (The authorization for this legislation was technically extended into 1984 as a result of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981.)

Prior to the hearings of April 23 and 26, 1982, a communication from the director of the Department of Education's Office of Planning and Evaluation Services that requested members from the department review and comment upon a draft decision memorandum covering the Bilingual Education Act, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and Part III of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (Elliot, 1982). An attached synopsis of the legislative history of Title VII ESEA, Bilingual Education Act, noted that the Office of General Counsel interpreted the definition of bilingual education "to preclude immersion or ESL (English as a second language) programs." The new budget proposed by the Department of Education for fiscal year 1983 would change the statutory definition of a bilingual education program. According to the synopsis, the change would allow school districts to implement programs "regardless of the language of instruction." Moreover, the revised budget request for FY 1983 of $71.7 million to service 125,000 limited-English-proficient students was considerably less than the $92 million in the revised budget for FY 1982 to cover 138,000 pupils. Secretary Bell's testimony at the Senate hearings of April 23, then, was not unexpected, when he stated:

> While at present the Title VII legislation requires the use of both English and the non-English language, our proposed legislation would not. School districts would be free to propose programs which use both languages or which use English exclusively. (Bell, 1982, p. 8-9)

According to Bell's statement, school districts would be justified in their selection on the basis of needs assessment. He also noted a lack of support for Sen. Huddleston's bill. Although reportedly opposed to a few specific provisions, Bell stated that the Huddleston bill and legislation proposed by the Department of Education to amend Title VII ESEA were "similar in terms of their philosophical underpinnings." Sen. S. I. Hayakawa's (R-Calif.) testimony followed Bell's, calling for a return to the "melting pot," and repudiating, in general, transitional bilingual education. It is interesting to note an apparent confusion in Sen. Hayakawa's understanding of transitional bilingual education:

> On the opposite side of the scale, bilingual education is a more or less permanent two-track education system involving the maintenance of a second culture and an emphasis on ethnic heritage. This method is called transitional bilingual education and involves teaching academic subjects to immigrants in their own language, coupled with English language instruction. This is the definition used to determine eligibility for Title VII funding. (Hayakawa, 1982, p. 22)

Obvious inconsistencies in his testimony did not thwart Sen. Hayakawa's determination to warn "Americans" to avoid "a crisis similar to the separatist movement of French Canadians." Transitional bilingual education programs, the senator believes, "have often inhibited [minority language students'] command of English and retarded their full citizenship."

Perhaps some future historians will judge more ominous the suggestion by Education Department General Counsel David Oliver to stop using the Lau remedies of 1975 and to institute the discriminatory intent test regarding Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (*Education Week,* April 28, 1982; *The Washington Post,* April 24, 1982). In a memorandum dated February 15, 1982, Oliver said that programs which were developed with expert advice alone "would strongly indicate" that school districts were "not acting out of animus," or premeditated discriminatory intent. This approach has been interpreted by the Center for Law and Education as the "effective repeal of Title VII as applied to non-English-speaking kids . . ." (*Education Daily,* April 23, 1982). Several analyses concur that sharp divisions regarding application of the discriminatory intent test have arisen in the Department of Education (see also *Education Week,* April 28, 1982).

Overview of Developments in Illinois

These developments on a national scale did not occur in isolation, without influence upon educational policies on a state level. Illinois is a prime example, and, in many instances, may provide a barometer to measure the educational and political climate of the country.

Developments at the federal level appear to have parallel reactions against the concept of bilingual education in Illinois, as had the withdrawal of the proposed Lau regulations. This storm of controversy was evidenced by editorials and letters to the editors in publications with a large circulation such as the *Chicago Tribune* and *Chicago Sun-Times.* One president of a school board made the following response to an ESL training program brochure:

> It seems you people have not been informed or are just pushing on your own this bilingual disaster. According to the media, Pres. R. Reagan has rescinded the Federal regulations that would have required schools to teach foreign students in their native tongue. I don't find your program the least bit exciting or have any enthusiasm over the idea of having English as a second language. This is America we live in and the language is English. The quicker young and new citizens learn to command it, the better they will excel in their new home. . . . (John R. Pellegrini, Concerned Citizens of Cicero and Berwyn, to Dr. Stan Seidner, March 15, 1981)

A second occurrence in support of the contention that federal developments have undoubtedly influenced events on a state level is found in a survey conducted by State Rep. Judith Baar Topinka (R-7th District, Ill.), offered as testimony before the Spanish Speaking Peoples Study Commission in Chicago on March 20, 1981. Finding fault with bilingual programs, the testimony, which was disseminated as a news release,

> . . . noted the 7th District's concern that America would ultimately become a bilingual nation if other languages were made equal to English in school and in public usage, thus causing problems similar to those in Quebec, Canada, and in Florida. . . . Topinka had great praise for new

> Secretary of Education Terrel Bell who, as one of the first official acts in that office, *scrapped a Federally mandated bilingual program*—the cost of which could not even be estimated. She also praised President Ronald Reagan for his bold stand on the use of the English language in America. (Topinka, 1981a, p. 2; emphasis added)

A copy of the survey was requested and analyzed by Topinka's office (1981b). We present the following observations about the survey:

1. Three questions were asked: (a) Does your school district currently have a bilingual education program? (b) If yes, comment on its progress. (c) What is your personal opinion of this program? Of the forty-eight schools in the 7th Legislative District, responses were reviewed from *four* superintendents, *two* curriculum directors, and *three* principals, who, contends Topinka, "represented 38 schools, 1,073 teachers, and 17,978 students." *No responses were recorded from other administrative or support staff, the teachers, or students*
2. A curriculum director cited "a bilingual program in two schools." Although none of the bilingual personnel in the program were interviewed, the curriculum director cited the state-mandated program for Spanish-speaking, limited-English-proficient students as "beneficial to the district." He described it further as a "pull-out program that teaches them [in] Spanish so their educational skills do not deteriorate. It also teaches them English."
3. The four superintendents who responded cited no programs within their districts. One superintendent, who reported "no program," went on to say "I do not like the program. It is unfair to ethnic groups. It is another way to pump federal money into cities at our expense." Another superintendent, who also reported "no program," is cited as also saying "It should be dropped."
4. One of the principals, who responded "no program," believed that bilingual programs "should be abolished. Research has shown they are ineffective. Tax money used to support a bilingual program is helping [to] divide this great country." Another administrator reportedly stated, "The research on present bilingual programs has failed to indicate any direct gain for students. Those who are included in bilingual programs have shown no gain in school achievement when compared to those who are not in programs." No indication is given regarding the nature of this research cited in support of their statements.

We offer this brief summary of benefits gained by students enrolled in Illinois state-mandated bilingual programs for the 1979-80 school year (Illinois State Board of Education, 1981). A total of 43,531 students were identified as limited English proficient and receiving services through seventy state-funded bilingual programs. The students represented more than sixty language groups and constituted 2.1 percent of Illinois's public school children. More than 7,000 students left transitional programs for mainstream classes during FY 1979-80. Achievement gains by students in acquiring English language skills were observed on five of the most frequently used instruments, as shown in Table 1.

Reading scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, as indicated in Table 1, were used as pre- and posttests in Chicago. These scores were representative of Chicago's normal curve equivalents (NCE). Table 2 depicts achievement gains.

An examination of the data reveals that achievement gains increased with age. Students were acquiring comprehension and speak-

Table 1: Achievement Gains by LEP Students on Five Instruments

Instrument	Mean Gain	Number of Programs
1. Language Assessment Scales (Scores may range from 1-100)	13.1	24 Downstate Programs
2. James Language Dominance Test (Scores may range from 0-40)	9.3	17 Downstate Programs
3. Boehm Test of Basic Skills (Scores may range from 1-100)	20.1	13 Downstate Programs
4. Interamerican Test of Reading (Scores may range from 1-80)	5.4	7 Downstate Programs
*5. Iowa Test of Basic Skills	3.07	Chicago Program

* Local normal curve equivalent scores are not equivalent to raw scores reported on instruments 1 through 4. However, a score gain of 3.07 indicates advancement greater than that expected for English-speaking cohorts.

(Illinois, 1981, p. 59-74)

Table 2: Achievement Gains by Limited-English-Proficient Students on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills

(N=9,462)

Age Cycle	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Gain Score in Months	4.8	6.3	7.2	7.9	8.8	10.3	11.1

(Illinois, 1981, p. 16)

ing skills in English, while also acquiring basic reading skills. Moreover, students enrolled in bilingual programs were progressing on a level equal to that of other compensatory programs. The actual minutes of instruction in bilingual programs are summarized in Table 3.

The achievement gains noted in Tables 1 and 2 indicate the type of success which LEP students have experienced in Illinois through state-mandated programs. Although bilingual education has not been unanimously endorsed in Illinois, it has generally received support from the legislature to exist as a state-funded program on a voluntary basis from 1970-75 and as a mandated program from 1976 to the present. As a mandated program, bilingual education has become the target of legislators for a variety of reasons. Some are against the concept of mandates. Others object to what they believe to be a native language program which excludes the teaching of English. And still others oppose bilingual education legislation because they see it as another issue in the ongoing contest between Chicago and the rest of Illinois.

During the 1981 legislative session, a bill to remove the state mandate was introduced under the rationale that without federal requirements (e.g., Lau regulations), the state was no longer obligated to provide the program. The bill was defeated in committee; however, during the same legislative session, political maneuvers in the lower house committee resulted in a zero appropriation for bilingual education. This went against a recommendation from the Illinois State Board of Education that funding be increased by 5 percent from $17.5 million to $18.35 million (Muirheid, 1981). As a result of political activism by various sectors, appropriations for FY 1982 came to $16.9 million, a reduction of $600,000 from FY 1981. A concurrent development on the federal level — the exclusion of bilingual education from the reimbursement procedures for block grants — further complicated the funding picture in Illinois. By including bilingual education, the Elementary and Secondary Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 would have enabled Illinois to receive approximately 10 percent of all federal basic program monies, since about the same percentage of reported target limited-English-proficient students reside in the state. At present, the state receives 2 per-

Table 3: Minutes of Instruction for Students Enrolled in State-Mandated Programs 1979-1980

Program	Total Average Minutes of Instruction	Minutes of English Instruction	Minutes of Native Language Instruction	Minutes of ESL Instruction
Downstate	280	155	79	46
Chicago	297	146	127	24
State Average Totals	291	150	108	33

(Illinois, 1981, p. 55-57)

cent of total monies. Future allocation formulas will depend upon the status of the state's mandate for bilingual education. The cumulative events on a federal level possibly contributed to the decision by the state board of education to review the Illinois mandate. The report by Baker and de Kanter (1981), and an analysis (Seidner, 1981b), were featured in discussions concerning the nature of the revised mandate. At the time of this writing, no decision has been reached regarding the bilingual education mandate in Illinois.

In summary, the developments within the state have not occurred without an impact from the national level. Elements within the state have publicly emulated federal behavior, posing serious questions about the future of bilingual education in Illinois.

Conclusions and Recommendations

One of our first concerns is that decisions adversely affecting bilingual education have originated from less than educationally substantiated platforms. Research findings that support benefits gained by limited-English-proficient students in bilingual education have not brought about an ideological shift. This may be attributed in part to current conditions paralleling earlier periods of xenophobic reactions in the United States (Kellogg, 1918; Kloss, 1969; and Heath, 1977b). During these periods, it would appear as if individuals from institutions of higher education and public schools were less effective in influencing educational change than community spokespersons, groups, and political leaders; examples of this tendency have been cited throughout this paper (see also the statement of Rep. Edward Roybal, 1981). Community activists or groups appear to be another powerful resource to help sway ideological directions in favor of bilingual education. Problems in galvanizing a viable political community force have been noted by a number of researchers, who offer varying approaches as solutions (Bernal, García, and Zamora, 1979; Martínez, 1979; and Bonilla, 1979). Mass media, a critical element in swaying public opinion, reported statements more readily when these were made by political figures than when these statements were made by community figures and groups or the educational sector.

Four areas of activity are suggested in partial summary:

1. **Conceptualization.** The initiation of an educational-philosophical framework, as it relates to research design and the substantiation of so-called academic soundness, remains for the most part within the domain of higher education. Public school educators may be more concerned with practical applications than theoretical, philosophical premises.
2. **Experimentation.** As it applies toward substantiating an initial theoretical framework, bilingual education research is conducted by varying combinations of resources from higher education and public schools. As faulty as Baker and de Kanter's report may be in approach and premise, it shows nonetheless the lack of duplication of experimental studies in critical areas to substantiate particular statements of policy. However, research results from these studies usually remain within educational circles.
3. **Dissemination.** Community and political leaders appear to be in the best position to disseminate results of research findings in support of bilingual education through mass media. This would entail a formal or informal orientation process by educators regarding ramifications of research leading to a system of networking between spheres of activity. The Illinois State Bilingual Advisory Council includes representatives from educational sectors who share information with community representatives, and the importance of this liaison is demonstrated in the March 1981 hearings before the Spanish Speaking Peoples Study Commission of Illinois.
4. **Ideological Placement.** Aside from the courts, political leaders are in the most favorable position for implementing, maintaining, or eliminating economic support for bilingual education through executive or legislative processes. Many authors cited in this paper emphasize political activism to sway public officials. Concurrent with this strategy, a definite need exists to solicit political figures' advocacy of bilingual education through the media.

Table 4 represents our observation of the four areas of activity and potential effectiveness of particular sectors.

Table 4: Potential Areas of Activity

Area of Activity/Sector:	Higher Education	Public Schools	Community Leaders	Political Leaders
Ideological Placement	−	−	+ −	+
Dissemination (General Public)	−	−	+ −	+
Experimentation	+	+ −	−	−
Conceptualization	+	+ −	−	−

+ = Degree of Power
− = Degree of Powerlessness

Traditionally, higher education has defined and given sanction to what is "educationally sound," usually based upon some form of empirical data derived from experimentation. The dissemination of results has been practically confined to scholarly publications and circles. Perhaps the quest for scholarly integrity, educational legitimacy, and the approbation of sister disciplines has led to an avoidance of more popular and widely disseminated articles. Community leaders appear to be in a better position than educators to communicate to their immediate clientele (namely, the members of the community) the importance of particular developments and to assist in incorporating ideological concerns through political activism. In this instance, we defer to Daniel Bell's definition of ideology as "the conversion of ideas into social levers" (Bell, 1960). Nonetheless, these spokespersons are for the most part limited to the immediate community which they represent. On the other hand, it is suggested that political leaders have a wider sphere of activity through the nature of their profession and constituencies.

Some final suggestions are offered:

- Bilingual education professionals in higher education should make stronger, concerted efforts toward obtaining the support of colleagues in other disciplines. These efforts are extremely important in the face of recent data showing that institutions of higher education will not support bilingual programs if Title VII and other funding sources are eliminated (Seidner, 1981b).

- Stronger linkages should be established between bilingual sectors of higher and public education and with the community. Political action committees or functions would include coalitions of these individuals, thus bridging spheres of activity. The success of this type of coalition was demonstrated recently with the activities of an ad hoc

Bilingual Education Committee in Illinois during the critical renewal period of state appropriations.

- Leaders of religious communities should be cultivated for support of bilingual programs in concert with the concept promoted by Dr. Samuel Betances of Northeastern Illinois University (see Fernández, 1981). Moreover, religious leaders are in a position to disseminate through various media a platform in support of bilingual education.

- Political leaders of state and national levels should be encouraged to write articles and speak out in favor of bilingual education. A network of educational resources would be necessary to provide consultative assistance to policymakers (see, for example, de los Santos, 1982).

- In the wake of conservative reaction, we recommend a return to the political activism of the 1960s and 1970s. The voting community would clearly indicate to elected officials that all available resources would be marshalled toward obtaining continued support for bilingual education. This would include challenges to forces against bilingual education on all levels, including rallies and marches, incessant pressure upon political figures, and litigation. The current trends indicate a return to private lawsuits. Coalitions, such as the successful formation of the Bilingual Education Committee and its activities in Illinois, have been shown to be effective. A resolve to use litigation must be demonstrated in light of the Justice Department's recent reversal of position in two major court cases, *U.S.* v. *State of Texas*, January 1981 and *Plyler* v. *Doe*, December 1981 (on this, see NCBE *FORUM*, February 1981 and January 1982). One of the primary objectives of this organized activism is to convince policymakers that opposition to bilingual education can be costly on a multitude of fronts.

- We recommend, as an immediate and specific activity, concerted demands for hearings for a new cycle of Title VII legislation and funding, and truly representative input from the acknowledged experts and leaders in the field. Legislation for this reauthorization of Title VII should not lose sight of the needs of limited-English-proficient populations for instruction in their native languages within a time framework which is educationally sound for the students. While it is desirable to extend the concept of bilingual education beyond the realm of limited-English-proficient populations, it is less than reasonable, in our opinion, to abandon the label or essential nature of bilingual education. Such acquiescence would confirm unwarranted suspicions that the very term *bilingual education* is a stigma.

A speech by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) before delegates at the state convention of the Illinois Education Association labeled the

Reagan Administration "the most anti-education, anti-teacher, anti-student administration in our national history." The senator condemned the administration's "New Federalism" as "nothing more than the old Hooverism" (*The Sunday Herald,* February 14, 1982). In order to survive the 1980s, bilingual education must achieve ideological implementation within the fiber of U.S. consciousness. This can only occur if we engage in collective enterprises which will have an impact upon society.

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CHAPTER 21

Articulating a Positive Orientation toward Bilingual Education

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When it comes to determining what ought to be done in public education, almost everyone feels capable of rendering a knowledgeable opinion. If a similar situation were to prevail, say, in medicine, so that the average person could self-prescribe medication, surely the physicians would argue that the self-medicating person has a quack for a doctor and a fool for a patient. But apparently quackery is not widely recognized in education, and as a consequence there is some difficulty in separating the fools from the sages as they prescribe and proscribe educational practices.

Let us take bilingual education as a case in point. When it comes to pontificating about the alleged evils and social destructiveness of bilingual education, just about any columnist or journalist can do it with remarkable facility. For instance, Noel Epstein (1977) psychoanalyzed the U.S. Congress and determined that it suffered from a "Columbus Complex." As evidence of this congressional malady he singled out the enactment of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1968), which is the title that permits federal grants to local school districts wishing to implement bilingual instructional techniques.

Going even further, Epstein also psychoanalyzed the Hispanic community in mass and concluded that its advocacy of bilingual education has little to do with a desire for educational improvement but is related instead to the group's effort to promote what Epstein called "affirmative ethnicity." Having thus reduced bilingual education to a congressional aberration on the one hand and to ethnic "machismo" on the other, Epstein unblushingly transformed the complex policy issues of bilingual education into a simple and rhetorical question: Should it be the role of the federal government to support affirmative ethnicity? His answer was a definitive "no." Ethnicity, he argued, should be promoted in the home and in private.

This fanciful argument apparently had an impact on impressionable fellow journalists. In the context of the federal requirement for bilingual ballots in certain situations, and further sparked by the publication of the "Lau remedies," the *Wall Street Journal* (1976) editorialized under the banner of "Confusion and Ethnic Identity":

> On the one hand Americans pride themselves on their racial melting pot, on the other hand racial and ethnic awareness have never been more pronounced than they are today. Which is why ideally we should make every allowance for and even encourage these distinctions in our private arrangements, but refrain from writing them into law.

Espousing the same perspective, the *Detroit News* (1978) editorialized under the headline "Affirmative Ethnicity":

> Today one of the hottest educational issues in Detroit and other major cities is whether to foster the transition [to English] from a foreign language and culture or, instead, to preserve "ethnic purity."

By these words, the editor shows both the influence of Epstein's fanciful reductionism and a gratuitous effort to associate bilingual education with the unfortunate and much publicized "ethnic purity" remark made by Jimmy Carter in his bid for the presidency.

Such vacuous associations, however, are not uncommon in the journalistic view of bilingual education as a policy issue. For example, Phillip W. Quigg (1978) associated bilingual education with nothing less than the potential downfall of the republic: "To require that public documents and notices be printed in Spanish and that Spanish be used as the language of instruction in the schools is not the course of liberality or cultural understanding. They are merely the first steps in a degenerative process that will prove uncontrollable." He then proceeded to illustrate the putative effects of this "uncontrollable process" by describing the unhappy political relations that have existed in Canada between the French-speaking population of Quebec province and the rest of English-speaking Canada. According to Quigg, the heated linguistic dispute in Canada is the cause — it does not even occur to him that it might be the effect —of deep political and economic cleavages that the U.S.'s northern neighbor has experienced. Then, switching to a quasi-constitutional argument, Quigg contends that "the notion that minorities have linguistic rights, which the state must provide, seems totally alien to the spirit of our constitution." Quigg thus tries, quite unconvincingly, to vest English monolingualism with at least the semblance of constitutional authority, although there is absolutely no stipulation whatsoever in the Constitution declaring the United States an English monolingual country. Interestingly, there is a plausible constitutional argument in support of non-English languages if one examines some of the treaties and accords into which the U.S. has entered (Macías, 1979). One example might be the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which the United States agreed to protect the rights of the newly incorporated former Mexican citizens with respect to property, religion, and culture (Tate, 1970). In any event, Quigg's principal aim was to attack bilingual education by associating it with the threat commonly attributed to separatist movements and by claiming that bilingual education imperils national unity.

Taking a similar line of attack, Albert Shanker (1980), president of the American Federation of Teachers, in a union-paid column in the *New York Times* castigated the U.S. Department of Education for proposing regulations pursuant to the decision of the U.S. Supreme

Court in *Lau* v. *Nichols* (1974). "The proposal is an unmitigated disaster," he declared. "It threatens the fabric of American education and the future of our country." And after incorrectly claiming (see Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Troike, 1978) that evidence is lacking as to the relative effectiveness of the different educational programs available for students of limited English proficiency, he asked ominously: "Will federal programs lead the U.S. to become another Quebec?" Whatever the answer to this question, Shanker attacked the proposed federal regulations as a "radical change" that was "bad for the child" and that would "do harm to the nation."

Continuing the argument of impending national disaster, Henry E. Catto, Jr. (1980) made what is perhaps the most dire prediction to date. Writing in *Newsweek,* as Quigg had done before him, Catto prognosticated that "by the end of the next decade it is entirely possible that the United States will once again confront the fateful choice it faced in 1860: schism or civil war. The cause this time will be language. . . ." He went on to recant his 1967 testimony in favor of bilingual education because ". . . the winsome babe has, in its maturity, turned monstrous." And what is so monstrous about bilingual education? According to Catto, it is ". . . most bizarre [that] students now have the right to be taught not only in Chinese or in Spanish, but also in Aleut, Navajo, Apache, Japanese, Yiddish, Russian, Tagalog, or any one of sixty-odd additional tongues." Expanding his attack, Catto attempted to associate bilingual education with activist groups, especially Hispanics and New Left reformers who, Catto contends, are looking for a cause to fight for or who are interested primarily in securing teaching jobs. Catto thus associates bilingual education with self-indulgent reformers and narrow ethnic self-interest and greed.

Catto's "chicken little" perspective was picked up by another columnist, George F. Will (1980), in the aftermath of Dade County's decision to end its official bilingualism. Although it is painfully clear that Will's knowledge of bilingual education is less than enough, he charges that somehow the nation has sleepwalked toward bilingual education and that bilingual education has its roots in, of all things, the Black power movement of the 1960s along with other heady, if not seedy, happenings of that tumultuous decade. Clearly, Will's ignorance of bilingual education is more than enough. Yet with truculent casualness, this journalist associates bilingual education with a somnambulistic national leadership and a variety of presumably passé ethnic perspectives and claims, to all of which he imputes negative connotations.

What is intriguing about these and quite a few other journalistic salvos (Schubert, 1977; Stone, 1979; Bethell, 1979; Easterbook, 1980), is that inevitably they have formed the context of public opinion within which national policy in bilingual education has been set. Little wonder then that several members of Congress and state legislators express scant eagerness for supporting bilingual education policies. At a more abstract level, one has to wonder about what is driving this relentless journalistic tirade against bilingual education. In response to this concern, a broad theoretical framework will now be sketched.

The Negative Orientation Toward Bilingual Education

One can speculate that what is propelling the journalistic assault on bilingual education is the particular orientation that English monolinguals have developed toward this activity. The concept of orientation has been applied by researchers and educators in a number of fairly distinct areas. For example, anthropologists such as Kluckhohn (1973) have attempted to show that value orientations are fundamental features of every culture. For a given cultural value, it is claimed, there is observable variation in the orientations adopted by different cultures toward that value. Denzin (1978) uses a similar idea, but in a sociological context in which the individual is presumed to develop a particular posture toward objective phenomena in the environment. From this posture, the individuals invoke particular lines of action that determine their observable behavior and perhaps even the degree of success in negotiating the environment.

In an educational context, Freire (1970) conceives of effective group action as dependent upon generative themes and viable options or alternatives in a given society. The generative themes might be interpreted as beliefs and attitudes of high emotional content common to a particular population at a particular point in its historical development. These generative themes, when clarified, analyzed, and amplified through social interaction, can result in successful social mobilization, provided that the group is driven toward objectives that are feasible or viable within the overall limiting factors of the larger society. Díaz-Guerrero (1970), a psychologist, offers the concept of "historic sociocultural premises" as a way to capture the fundamental orientations that seem important to an overall understanding of how individual and group behavior is manifested at a particular point in time. In short, Díaz-Guerrero argues that synchronic group behavior is conditioned both by the normative social pressures of the moment and by deeper underlying patterns of behavior and attitudes that are diachronically shaped and determined. Finally, in a specific application of the concept to bilingual education public policy, Ruiz (1981) considers that bilingual legislation at the state level is noticeably colored by the prevailing social orientations of the policymakers in the legislature.

In the present context, the notion of orientation is used as a construct that describes the composite of attitudes, beliefs, prejudices, and perspectives that influence thinking and behavior with respect to bilingual education policies and practices. Perhaps more important, what is proposed here is that proponents of bilingual education must develop a well-articulated, positive orientation toward bilingual education. This orientation then could be counterposed to the essentially negative orientation commonly expressed in the mass media and other important arenas.

Interestingly enough, the fundamental value that is invoked by opponents of bilingual education is national unity. By so doing, they appear to put advocates of bilingual education on the defensive. Clearly, few rational people would argue with much conviction that national unity is not a desirable goal for the country. After all, it is just common sense that we have to stick together as a nation if we are to prosper in the highly competitive international arena. But by appropriating to their side the defense of national unity, opponents of bilingual education are then able to promote a variety of narrower interests and beliefs that might not be so appealing or defensible save for their linkage to the venerable principle of national unity.

Without pretention to completeness, the following are some examples of these narrower interests and beliefs that undergird the negative orientation toward bilingual education:

1. "U.S. society is a 'melting pot' and all newcomers must shed alien ways and adopt new customs." As an important corollary to this belief, it is assumed that all immigrants must abandon their native tongues and learn English as quickly as possible. Another corollary, though one that is not often mentioned or openly acknowledged, is that newcomers must go to the end of the line in terms of receiving economic benefits. In this context, it may be that the idea of economic and social bootstrapping is a popular and romanticized expression of a "last-in, last-in-line" philosophy.
2. "Language differences lead to political differences and separatist movements." One corollary to this belief is that the government should not be involved in providing bilingual education; bilingual education, like ethnicity, should be a private matter and one that is best carried out in the home. A second corollary is that the public schools should teach only in English, regardless of the languages spoken by the pupils.
3. "Bilingual education cheats students. It does so because it segregates them, and because it robs them of the chance to learn English. As such it diminishes their chances of obtaining a good job and relegates them to a permanent disadvantage."
4. "Those who do not learn English are either lazy or un-American or both."

These and similar beliefs are the necessary props that support the bulk of editorial opinion critical of bilingual education and what has been generally characterized here as the negative orientation toward bilingual education. Of course, these beliefs also influence the attitudes and actions of members of Congress, legislators, judges, and without doubt, educators.

Articulating a Positive Orientation

In spite of the fact that there has been some challenge to the negative orientation, those who hold a positive orientation have not gained ready access to the mass media. As a result, those who hold negative beliefs reinforce each other and seldom receive the benefit of hearing any contradicting findings and opinions. To counter some of this journalistic incest, what follows is a proposed set of "principles" that can be elaborated — but not here — into a positive orientation toward bilingual education.

To start, it may be useful to distinguish between ideal and real principles. Ideal principles tend to embody the fundamental beliefs of a people that express their nobler sentiments and their preferred ways of doing things, given that baser motives and interests are not at issue. Real principles, on the other hand, are more reflective of what people do than what they proclaim. They include economic motives and less lofty self-interests, and perhaps tend to account for social conditions more accurately than ideal principles, although it is clear that there exists continuous interplay between ideal and real principles.

In any event, three ideal principles are offered as follows:

1. **E Pluribus Unum.** It has been a national tenet for over two hundred years that the United States is necessarily a composite of a multitude of peoples from all over the world. Many came to the new land searching for opportunities to better their lives; others came to preserve valued ways of living that they desperately wanted to maintain and pass on to their children. In this context, the literal and authentic meaning of *e pluribus unum* as a principle is that a cohesive governance system shall be welded together and rendered functional by the collective efforts of diverse populations. An interpretation that contends that all languages touching upon U.S. soil, save English, must be altered, transitioned, or eradicated is pernicious, revisionist, and at bottom, profoundly un-American. Such a narrow interpretation stands in contradiction to the beliefs of the first European Americans, who long ago envisioned the American continent as a refuge from tyrannical monotheists and monarchs.

Moreover, within this great historical principle one can develop a framework of unity through pluralism. For it is clear that bilingual education is one of the few contemporary social trends that makes the case for maintaining the plural character of the nation while assuring national unity. There are at least two basic approaches to national unity. One is to attempt to destroy all elements that do not fit into a preestablished notion of what constitutes the nation. The other is to expand the meaning of national identity to include all elements that form a functional part of the nation's life. The first approach is exclusionary, oppressive, and, in its day-to-day manifestations, racist. The second approach is inclusive, symbiotic, and respects manifest differences in behavior and character. The first approach ultimately leads to political tyranny and the attendant wars of liberation; the second approach, and here perhaps we must look to nature for a guide (Thomas, 1974), should lead to balance and harmony even while immense forces and pressures are at play.

2. **Responsive Government.** It is worthwhile to reemphasize that the essential function of government is to provide protection for the people it serves. Any government without the capability to defend its people against external aggression is a contradiction in governance. A government that cannot protect its citizens from natural and social misfortunes is one definition of a bad government. Hence, few people vilify the government when it takes reasonable measures to protect the lives and fortunes of its citizens if they have fallen upon misfortunes or hard times: misfortunes caused by natural disasters, or even the vicissitudes of the national economy. How ludicrous then for self-appointed defenders of the national weal to enjoin the use of government resources to carry out bilingual education activities. Bilingual populations in the United States have suffered at the hands of traditional educators nothing less than a disaster, a misfortune of monumental proportions that is no less real because it has been ignored by many of the monophonic speakers (Carter, 1970). To say that bilingual education under these circumstances belongs only in the home and should be relegated to parents and church groups is to say the pedagogical equivalent of "Let them eat cake!"—which is "Let them learn English." Unfortunately, some anglophonic U.S. institutions have seen to it that language and ethnic differences have redounded to the detriment of certain ethnocommunities (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971–74). Therefore, it is reasonable and just that those communities should demand assistance and protection from their government. Such assistance and protection should not be given grudgingly or viewed with mock disbelief. It is clearly within the purview of government to assist and protect its citizens.

3. **Community Groundedness.** It would seem that an authentic approach toward language policy ought to be grounded in the everyday needs and conditions of the citizenry. It is all well and good to discuss language policy as an academic and scholarly activity, but an equally important need today—at least among certain ethnocom-

munities—is to articulate clearly possible choices among language alternatives, and to determine what impact those choices might have on the everyday conditions of those communities. Hence, a prominent concern of such ethnocommunities is the formulation of bilingual policy because bilingualism (not just language) is a feature that characterizes the ethnocommunity and renders it distinctive. In short, the point of departure for such communities is precisely their bilingual character. Their most basic need is not to discover their bilingualism—for it has been there historically and they have been conscious of that fact—or to eradicate it or to wear it like insignia, but to fashion the future course and development of that distinctive bilingualism. In short, bilingual policies must be grounded in the objective needs of bilingual communities as they perceive them, and within the larger context of the public interest.

In addition to these ideal principles, several real principles round out the new orientation proposed for bilingual education policy formation. These real principles in a sense can be viewed as constraints. They are as follows:

1. **Historical Overdetermination.** It appears to be an inescapable conclusion that one fundamental aspect of bilingualism in the United States, especially English-Spanish bilingualism, is its connection to a legacy of rivalry, friction, and aggression that has characterized the contacts between Iberian and Anglo-Saxon peoples on the one hand, and various European and Native American nations on the other (García Cantú, 1971; Medina Castro, 1971). The contemporary debate over bilingual education in the United States appears to be subtended by this legacy of hostility. As a result, much of the opposition that is expressed against bilingual education in the United States tends to reflect the opposition's perception of some noxious, foreign, or otherwise threatening element in bilingual education.

Placed in the context of this primordial hostility, it is easier to assay the endless editorials and features that harangue against the very concept and postulated results of bilingual (and bicultural) education. Few, if any, of these broadsides have voiced concern on genuine educational grounds. Their complaints against bilingual education are linked to bipolar notions such as unity and separatism or natives and foreigners, or to quaint melting pot notions of nationhood and peoplehood. The critics argue with solemn monophonic voices that "all Americans must learn English" while cynically ignoring the evidence showing that certain U.S. institutions (namely the schools) have failed to teach English and to provide a basic education to many minority language groups.

The principle of historical overdetermination is important because it should signal to advocates of bilingual education that the ideal principles of U.S. society, even those enshrined in the national

Constitution, are inevitably colored by the legacy of friction between Anglos and Indo Hispanic peoples. The proper orientation for proponents of bilingual education, therefore, is to confront the attitudes and behaviors incident to this historical overdetermination and to attempt to replace them with perspectives more relevant to the language situation existing today in the United States.

2. **Academic and Technocratic Linkage.** Almost inevitably most societies develop a social hierarchy that endows certain classes with greater power and authority than others. In the United States, Hispanics and most other bilingual groups are unfortunately not at the top of the social pyramid. As a result, they do not claim ready access to the decisionmaking apparatus of the society, nor do they participate extensively in the many institutions that function as power brokers.

One significant result of this political powerlessness is that bilingual populations are not able to exploit the many connections that exist between policy formation in the public arena and the technical and academic aspects related to bilingual education. The key difficulty is that theory and technology in bilingual education have not yet been developed to the point where they can be used effectively to support arguments for bilingual education (although that situation is rapidly changing). As a result of not having participated in significant numbers (until very recently) in higher education, bilingual populations have not been conscious enough of the fact that public policy formation is not merely political in character—it is also markedly influenced by technological and academic concerns. One might even say that public policy is determined not only by politics, but also by the politics of expertise (Benveniste, 1977). Hence, in dealing with public policy formation for bilingualism, it is important to recognize that the task is complicated by the need to understand not only politics, but applicable theory and technology as well. What makes the problem particularly burdensome is that due to social stratification, members of marked bilingual populations (who are typically in the lower levels of the hierarchy) have not enjoyed ready access to higher education, thus severely limiting their current ability to support policy formation with plausible theory and workable technology. The obvious response to this situation is for bilingual communities to support greater development of theory and technology in bilingual education and to ensure that they are participants in such development.

In conclusion, it would seem appropriate to highlight once again the need to fashion a fundamental orientation toward bilingual education that is positive, not antagonistic. Such an orientation could include the ideal and real principles presented here. Also, it should be clear that bilingual public policy formed primarily within the context of the dominant negative orientation is not likely to be equitable to the bilingual communities of the United States. And surely a public policy informed mainly by a negative orientation toward bilingualism will not meet the needs of bilingual students and the communities in which they live. On the other hand, a positive orientation toward bilingualism and bilingual communities will enrich not only the members of those communities but also the entire nation.

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CHAPTER 22

Future Lau Regulations: Conflict between Language Rights and Racial Nondiscrimination

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Introduction

Following the Supreme Court's decision in *Lau* v. *Nichols* (1974) and an Alaska school district's challenge to HEW's implementation of the informal "Lau Remedies" (*Northwest Arctic School District* v. *Califano*, 1978), the Office of Civil Rights in the Office of Education entered into a consent decree by which it agreed to publish formal regulations or stop using the 1975 guidelines to determine a school district's compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In August 1980, the Department of Education published proposed regulations which called for native language instruction in basic subjects for limited-English-proficient students, set entry-exit criteria, and required bilingual programs in schools with more than twenty-five students from the same language background in a two-grade span. Hearings were held around the United States during the fall of 1980. In February 1981, the new secretary of education announced that the proposed regulations were being rescinded. Nevertheless, the federal government is still obligated, under the Alaska court decree, to issue formal regulations addressing the issue of equal educational opportunity for minority language students.

The present paper analyzes what the author considers to be a major deficiency of the proposed Lau regulations of 1980 — namely, the inherent conflict between language rights and the right to racial nondiscrimination — and makes some general suggestions for the resolution of the conflict.

Five Liberation Movements in Historical Context

Since its founding, the United States has experienced five emancipatory movements. The first dealt with class in a pre-Marxian context. With the American Revolution and the establishment of republican institutions, titles of nobility were abolished in an effort to establish a general principle of common citizenry.

Second, the idea of a state religion was rejected in favor of the concept that all religions should be free to promulgate their ideas and establish themselves as separate entities from the state. Freedom of religion became a firm foundation of U.S. life.

Third, measures to limit the slave trade were part of the U.S. Constitution. Abolition of slavery was a key issue in the U.S. Civil War. It was not, however, until the Black liberation movement of the 1960s that the principle of nondiscrimination on the basis of race came to be generally accepted.

The fourth movement, which took form as the women's sufferage movement at the beginning of this century, culminated in the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. Its goal of nondiscrimination on the basis of sex, while not yet completely attained, has become a majority view that will in the end prevail.

The movement of eliminating discrimination based on language does not yet have popular acceptance. In many respects, this is the only liberation movement of the five which has had little momentum from the founding of the United States until the Sputnik scare of the late 1950s and the bilingual education movement of the 1960s.

Each of the emancipatory movements has had particular aspects. Eliminating titles of nobility and instituting a common republican citizenry was largely a fait accompli by the close of the American Revolution, since most of the people with Tory sympathies had fled to Britain or the former Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia. Shortly after the revolution, over half of the surviving graduates of Harvard College were living in the lands formerly occupied by the Acadians, who had been forcibly expelled from Nova Scotia in 1755 by British forces operating out of Boston. The operative principle, once the exodus of American Tories ceased, was integration into a common citizenry for all — that is, except slaves and women.

Freedom of religion, on the other hand, involved respect and tolerance of separate entities in lieu of an integrative state religion. Separation of church and state, and the right to practice according to one's own beliefs, were the operative principles. They worked amazingly well once religious organizations discovered that they could get along without positive state financial support.

Conversely, eliminating discrimination on the basis of race and sex involved the operative principle of integration. Eliminating discrimination on the basis of language has particularly difficult aspects. Mere respect and tolerance for different languages does not suffice as in the case of religion. No one religion has been granted special status, but one language, English, has. Religion can be left out of the public schools but one or more languages must enter as a vehicle of communication. With the rise of the public school, a discriminatory policy developed which excluded all languages except English as the vehicle of communication.

Discrimination based on language has been a fairly common practice. Upon U.S. entry into World War I, there was popular demand for the suppression of the teaching of German and other non-English languages in the schools. Language requirements for teachers were dropped. Columbia University led a movement in the 1920s to develop a special doctorate for teachers, the Ed.D., for which teachers would not have to learn a second language. To many people, using a language other than English was somehow un-American;

this attitude became particularly prevalent in the teaching profession after teachers no longer studied languages other than English.

Language as a Right

It is important to recognize at the outset that language rights per se generally have no federal constitutional protection in the United States at present. The Lau decision is just as important for what it did not say as for what it did say. The decision was not based on the equal protection clause of the Constitution, but solely on the basis of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination based on national origin. Children being taught in a language they did not understand were discriminated against while other children were being taught in a language they did understand — English. No right to be taught in Chinese or any language other than English was enunciated. The Court suggested, but did not prescribe, means of assuring nondiscrimination: "Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instruction to the group in Chinese is another. There may be others" (1974, p 564). The students do not generally have the right to be taught in their mother tongue at the present stage in relevant jurisprudence. Subsequent Supreme Court decisions might require mother tongue instruction as necessary to provide constitutionally equal protection or to eliminate discrimination, but the Lau decision does not go that far.

In general, state constitutions provided no constitutional protection of language rights prior to 1974. In that year, the new Louisiana Constitution prohibited discrimination on the basis of culture (1974, Art. 1, Sec. 3) and provided that "the right of the people to preserve, foster, and promote their respective historic, linguistic, and cultural origins is recognized" (1974, Art. 12, Sec. 4). I am unaware of any other state of the union that has provided similar constitutional protection for language rights.

Language rights can be considered an integral part of what are known as cultural rights within the even broader context of human rights. The trend in early modern times was to disregard cultural rights, particularly those of minorities, in favor of integration and homogeneity in the nation state.

Language rights as an integral part of human rights have a long road to travel before they are recognized in the United States and around the world. Goulet (1981) has phrased the question as follows:

> Perhaps the only true universal value is the desire of all human persons, living in every place and under every cultural system, to be treated as beings of worth on their own terms and independently of their usefulness to others. Can this claim also be made for cultural communities; do they also wish to be viewed as worthy of merit independently of their viability or their utility to other communities? And what

> of cultural minorities within Nations? Are they to be valued irrespective of their contribution to the Nation? More basically, can any intellectual defense of cultural rights dispense with a normative commitment to treating persons and communities as beings of worth regardless of their functional utility to others? (p. 4)

There is a little-noted legal obligation of the United States to protect language rights. This is the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, a U.S. treaty obligation. The following provision of that agreement is particularly pertinent:

> *National minorities or regional cultures.* The participating States, recognizing the contribution that national minorities or regional cultures can make to[ward] co-operation among them in various fields of education, intend, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory, to facilitate this contribution, taking into account the legitimate interest of their members. (1975, p. 9)

This provision can be interpreted broadly to include immigrants arriving voluntarily after the establishment of the United States, or it may be narrowly interpreted as being limited to minorities in residence at the time of a state's formation. Even under the latter interpretation, at least French and Spanish should have a special claim to protection. When Louisiana and parts of northern Maine were incorporated into the United States, French was the official language and the people were incorporated without their consent. Similarly, large parts of the southern and southwestern United States, where Spanish was the official language, were incorporated without the consent of the inhabitants. Hence, French and Spanish as well as American Indian languages can be considered native to the United States and entitled to special consideration in light of the Helsinki Agreement.

Needed Groupings to Protect Language Rights

To protect even the limited language rights recognized by the Lau decision, it may be necessary to group students according to language. This is especially true if they are taught in the medium of their mother tongue. Future court decisions, with the proper groundwork and case preparation, should, in my opinion, make teaching in the mother tongue a mandatory approach in most cases where a minority language community exists.

To group by language also means in many cases, to put it bluntly, that one is segregating by race. But prohibition of racial segregation is the very cornerstone of the Civil Rights Act. How does one protect language rights by grouping according to mother tongue without promoting, in effect, racial discrimination?

The proposed Lau regulations floundered on this very issue. No attempt was made to distinguish a language minority from a racial minority.

As previously pointed out, the solution to the discrimination that a language minority faces is likely to be very different from the solution to the discrimination that a racial minority faces. These solutions may very likely contradict each other, which must be acknowledged and dealt with if the necessary measures to protect language rights are to be instituted.

Ensuring Racial Nondiscrimination

The charge of racial discrimination will surely be made against those who would group students by mother tongue to protect language rights. The charge can be blunted on practical grounds for virtually every U.S. minority except the Spanish-language minority. For example, indigenous African languages have long ago been lost to American Blacks and there has been little effort to revive them. Hence, integration of Black English-speaking students with White English-speaking students is an acceptable process in terms of language groupings.

Blacks constitute the only sizable English-speaking minority that has been the victim of persistent race discrimination in the United States. Other minorities in the United States are a combination of both a language minority and a racial minority. For the Asian background minorities, the primary problem in recent years has been language discrimination rather than racial discrimination, for example. The same holds true for virtually all European language minorities with the exception of Spanish. In the case of the Spanish language minority, and particularly Mexican Americans, the problem of discrimination is often racial as well as linguistic. In some cases, the discrimination may be primarily linguistic; in others, primarily racial. It is when combined discrimination occurs that the problem of conflicting solutions to eliminate the discrimination is particularly acute.

Elements of Conflict

Grouping Spanish-speaking students together to teach them their mother tongue, thus protecting their language rights, can result in racial segregation when the Spanish-speaking students are mestizos and the English-speaking children in the same school are White. The Lau regulations proposed under the Carter administration permitted grouping for the protection of language rights, but required demonstration that it was the least segregative method of protecting language rights. Segregation by language was not permitted in classes in art, music, physical education, extracurricular activities, or in school lunch programs.

This was a fatal flaw in the proposal. No attempt was made to optimize the protection of language rights even when the discrimination was based primarily on language. The main emphasis of the proposed regulations was the avoidance of racial segregation even if it was not the primary problem. Real protection of language rights may require grouping; for the regulations to require the least amount of grouping necessary to protect language rights can mean that there can only be minimal protection of language rights.

Resolving Conflict by Meeting Most Pressing Need

While the proposed Lau regulations were no doubt well intentioned, I believe that they should have been rejected, both for dwelling on the problems of racial discrimination and for not emphasizing optimum solutions to the problems of protecting language rights. As stated earlier, protection of language rights does not have the public acceptance that the policy of racial nondiscrimination has.

Future regulations should address the most pressing need in a school community. For many minority language groups, protecting language rights might be more urgent than guarding against racial discrimination. Where racial discrimination is the primary problem, then rules to overcome that problem should take precedence.

Suggested Changes in Previously Proposed Lau Rules

The above criticisms of the proposed Lau regulations have been general. It is also useful to comment specifically on their defects. To start with, the title of Subpart B of the proposal should be "Language Discrimination" rather than "National Origin Discrimination," because this subpart deals with discrimination based on language. Other parts could deal with discrimination based on race. The title of this part should clearly indicate that language is the subject here.

In rule 100.33, the definition of bilingual education should be clarified by adding after the words "bilingual education" the following words, "for the purposes of this subpart"; the general concept of bilingual education *per se* does not require English [although Title VII ESEA does specify instruction given in, and study of, English]. The definition of a "minority" should be changed to "language minority" and the term "language minority" should be defined as follows: "'language minority' refers to students — (a) who are ordinarily identified by others, or who identify themselves, with a language heritage other than English, i.e., Hispanic, Franco, Navajo, etc. (b) who have a primary language other than English." These rules deal with language minorities, not racial minorities and this should be made perfectly clear. Racial minorities should be and are being dealt with in other rules.

The entire format of the proposed rule 100.39(c) should be changed to read as follows: "(c) What services must be provided to primary language superior students? Instruction in required subjects must be provided through their primary language to primary language superior students. Such instruction may also be provided through English." I believe that rule 100.39(c) as proposed is improper. To require the teaching of every subject from kindergarten on in English which is foreign to the student may hamper his or her ability to grasp basic skills. There is evidence that a second language may best be introduced at about the third grade. School districts should have discretion as to when the second language (English) is introduced. The Court in the Lau decision said that teaching English is one choice and giving instruction in the primary language is another choice. The school district may best decide when and how to mix the languages. The proposed rule is unduly restrictive.

Rule 100.41(b) should be revised to read as follows: "(b) *Improving English language skill.* A recipient that has begun to offer instruction in required subjects in English may stop providing assistance in improving English language skills described in 100.39(b) to a student who meets any of the following criteria: . . ." A school should not be required to start to offer instruction in English at any particular time but the time limit for continuing instruction should only start from the time that English instruction begins.

Rule 100.41(b)(3) should read as follows: "(b)(3) The student has received the services for five years and his or her primary language is the primary language of less than one-fourth of the students in his or her school." When a large proportion of students have a particular primary language, instruction in the language should continue until the student is no longer limited English proficient.

Rules 100.43(b) and (d) are strongly objectionable. To achieve freedom from discrimination on the basis of language, it is desirable to group students so that they can learn via the language they know and understand. Rule 100.43(b) and (d) would tend to prohibit the most desirable method of preventing discrimination based on language. They should definitely be deleted and the subject covered in other rules and regulations dealing with race. Linguistically different students need more time to acquire basic skills. To permit them to learn in their own language for only one-half of their classes, especially at the K-3 grade level, is rank discrimination based on language, merely disguised as promotion of racial integration. This subpart should be designed to prohibit language discrimination, which is now a far more serious problem than racial discrimination. Different problems call for different solutions. In rule 100.45(b), "race or national origin" should be deleted and the word "language" substituted. As stated previously, race should be covered by other rules and regulations and not confused with these rules designed to prohibit discrimination based on language.

Rule 100.53(a) and (b) should be revised to read as follows: "(a) a recipient may use a language other than English as the primary language of instruction in the classroom. (b) In the case of such a recipient, the primary language the recipient uses in the classroom to provide instruction shall be deemed substituted for 'English' whenever the word is used in this subpart." The rules do not make it clear that a recipient may use a primary language other than English as the primary language of instruction in the classroom. These rules should not dictate what primary language will be used at the local school level. The proposed change would clarify this.

It is also proposed that a new section, 100.54, be added to the proposed rules to read as follows "100.54 *How do these rules relate to 45 CFR 123—Bilingual Education?* These rules are designed to prohibit discrimination on the part of recipients by requiring them to provide instruction to children in a language they understand. 45 CFR 123—Bilingual Education remains in force. Its grants for bilingual education shall continue to be provided for programs that exceed the minimal requirements under these rules. It is not the intent of these rules to limit or discourage the beneficial effects of education of language minorities in their respective linguistic and cultural heritages." Many people are concerned that these proposed Lau regulations will have the effect of eliminating ongoing bilingual programs sponsored by the Department of Education under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended.

Above are some of the specific changes that should be made in any future Lau regulations, in my opinion. The problem of racial discrimination should be addressed separately. The question of when racial discrimination rules take precedence over language discrimination rules and vice versa should be decided on the basis of what is the most pressing need; protection of language rights or protection against racial discrimination. To do otherwise would result in the failure to solve the primary problem that exists.

Summary and Conclusion

The problems of race, class, and sex discrimination tend to be resolved by the integration of all people into a common society on the basis of equality.

Freedom of religion and language rights, on the other hand, demand for their fulfillment the opportunity for separate groupings. Separate religions can be self-sustaining and self-fulfilling if government does not favor one over another. For whatever reason, the government presently favors one language, English, over all others and provides that language with massive support through public education and other means. Without even limited support for other languages, language rights cannot be protected. In the modern world, language must develop both orally and as a literary medium or it will wither. Language rights, unlike religious rights, cannot be effectively protected by being left alone in an underdeveloped and culturally backward state while only one language is promoted vigorously.

Language rights need protection. The problem is particularly acute because there is less public support for their protection than there is for freedom of religion or protection against race or sex discrimination. Future Lau regulations should primarily facilitate the protection of language rights while recognizing potential conflict with other rights.

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CHAPTER 23

Institutionalizing Bilingual Education within University Structures

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Introduction

While retrenchment and scarcity of resources are rapidly changing the formal higher education landscape, the process of institutionalizing an innovation such as bilingual education within a postsecondary education setting in the years ahead needs careful examination. Bakalis (1981, p. 103) refers to the consequences of economic decline as the "new austerity" forces us to ask again an old question: What is the purpose of education? In particular, what is the purpose of teacher and professional education programs within formal higher education?

What appears to be happening today is a scenario captured by Schneider (1976, p. 162) in her summary and interpretation of the 1974 Bilingual Education Act as one of "revolution, reaction, or reform":

> A reactionary piece of legislation would have been one that totally deleted the Federal program or one which adopted the Administration's initial proposal of folding Title VII and other categorical programs into a special revenue-sharing approach. In that instance, the onus for bilingual-bicultural education programs would have been removed from the Federal government, since the decision on the level of expenditures for bilingual-bicultural content would have been a proposal to meet the problems of the limited-English-speaking not with a bilingual-bicultural approach, *but rather with English-as-a-second-language without any mandated cultural content.* (Emphasis added)

Although Schneider's analysis discounted this reactionary result in the case of the 1974 Bilingual Education Act, recent events — e.g., the administration's attempt to convert Title VII into a block grant, the steady drop in federal funds, and efforts to amend current bilingual education legislation (Baker and de Kanter, 1981) — attest to the major shift in philosophical and pragmatic emphasis among important policy and decision makers.

With regard to the topic of this paper — institutionalizing bilingual education within university structures — the literature and research are practically nonexistent. Except for scattered papers and symposia at national and regional conferences (see the list of references), and a recent descriptive survey of bilingual teacher training programs within institutions of higher education (IHEs) for 1978–1979 (Binkley et al., 1981), little information of explanatory and useful value is available to address these two crucial questions: (1) What critical factor(s) influence the process of institutionalization within an IHE? and (2) How can the process of institutionalization endure in the period of the "new austerity"?

Based upon a variety of approaches employing literature survey materials, selected concepts borrowed from educational change theory, and current conceptual frameworks, this paper will delineate and suggest answers to these important issues pertaining to the past, present, and future efforts to institutionalize bilingual education within higher education. In this paper, "institutionalization" refers to that socioeducational process whereby committed and knowledgeable members of the formal higher education enterprise loosely couple and systematically integrate selected properties of the field of bilingual education with the academic system of the university or college for the specific purpose of preparing bilingual professionals and specialists to serve minority and majority language students intelligently and sensitively.

What Critical Factor or Factors Influence the Process of Institutionalization within IHEs?

This question has been a major concern of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), IHEs, and in particular, directors of bilingual programs and faculty involved in bilingual programs since the first federal grants became available to postsecondary institutions under the 1974 Bilingual Education Act. Section 723 of the 1974 act provided the impetus for the issue:

> (A) (i) training, carried out in coordination with any other programs training auxiliary educational personnel, designed (I) to prepare personnel to participate in, or for personnel participating in, the conduct of programs of bilingual education, including programs emphasizing opportunities for career development, advancement, and lateral mobility, (II) to train teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, teacher aides, and parents, and (III) to train persons to teach and counsel such persons, and (ii) special training programs designed (I) to meet individual needs, and (II) *to encourage reform, innovation, and improvement in applicable education curricula in graduate education, in the structure of the academic profession, and in recruitment and retention of higher education and graduate school facilities, as related to bilingual education* . . . . (Public Law 93-380, Sec. 723, cited in Schneider, 1976, p. 218)

Since the first training grants were awarded to IHEs in 1974, administrators and faculty in postsecondary settings have struggled with the implications and meaning of these words. Although the term *institutionalization* is not specifically used in Section 723, the interpretation given by the Office of Bilingual Education at technical conferences emphasized this process. It can be noted that while the 1978 Bilingual Education Act includes the same wording under the section designated "Training," the Rules and Regulations of the Bilingual

Education Act (*Federal Register*, 1980, pp. 23224–23225) added *School of Education Projects*.

Seidner (1981, p. 377), in his exploratory investigation of how postsecondary institutions apply entry-exit level criteria in language assessment, alludes to the importance of this issue when he states that "ultimately, decisions by institutions to commitment of resources and retention of experienced faculty will affect the nature of entry-exit level criteria and assessment processes in target languages." He reports that 15 percent of his sample of fifty-seven respondents claimed discontinuation of Title VII programs by colleges and universities, because funding had ceased. His data lead him to conclude that the programs will not be continued with institutional funds once Title VII funding is terminated. Are federal external funds, then, the major determinant in establishing and maintaining bilingual education within IHEs?

My review of the research and literature in this neglected area along with my experiences at Fordham University negate the one-sidedness of this conclusion. However, empirical data on the extent of federal support for Title VII since its involvement in 1975 and the financial commitment on the part of IHEs would confirm Seidner's conclusion. For example, in fiscal year 1980–1981 alone, schools of education at twenty-seven institutions received over $1 million in Title VII funds to design first-year training programs. An additional 130 universities and colleges and 38 other applicants received $18.5 million to improve teacher training programs and to prepare bilingual personnel. Another forty-four colleges and universities received more than $4.5 million in fellowships to postgraduate students. Twelve universities, four school districts, and three nonprofit organizations received $9 million to operate nineteen bilingual education service centers; eight universities, four school districts, and five materials development centers received $6.5 million to develop curriculum materials (cited in Seidner, 1982). Although federal support has been extensive, the process of institutionalization is far more dynamic and complex, as will be illustrated.

For instance, Arciniega's model (1980) of three interacting system factors — characteristics of the proposed reform, organizational setting, and the nature of the change process — refute any single valued interpretation of institutionalization. According to Arciniega's experience and model, change can be brought about by a "solid understanding of the nature of organizations and the primary importance of the effects of organizational norms and inertia caused by traditional role structures and vested interests" (p. 13). Although this model views institutionalization as an interaction among various elements, it needs empirical verification, especially in the identification of organizational norms and inertia within a university context.

In their descriptive survey of forty-three IHEs receiving Title VII funds and fifteen non-Title VII IHEs, for 1978–1979, Binkley et al. (1981, III–158) highlight eight indicators of program institutionalization. These were derived from onsite interviews with program administrators, directors, and faculty in the Title VII-funded IHEs and represent the judgment of the researchers. Table 1 lists these indicators and a brief comment about each.

According to the authors of this descriptive study, these eight indicators capture the more important factors associated with the institutionalization of bilingual programs within IHEs. While these indicators are clues to the global process of establishing and maintaining an innovation such as bilingual education and express the opin-

Table 1

Indicators of Program Institutionalization
(Adapted from Binkley et al., 1981)

Indicator	Comment
1. Administrators actively support program.	1. Manifested through allocation of institutional funds; tenure; formation of bilingual advisory committees by deans; "professional regard" in which director and bilingual education faculty are held in the IHE.
2. Most nonbilingual faculty have positive attitudes toward program, or at least do not create obstacles to institutionalization.	2. Although administrator support is more critical to survival, negative attitudes of a large number of nonbilingual faculty can be detrimental; an area of serious concern as formal higher education "downsizes" in the years ahead.
3. Some faculty are supported by institutional funds.	3. and 4. Related to indicator #1; more obvious indicator of institutional commitment.
4. Some faculty on tenure track.	
5. Program is reported to continue in absence of Title VII funds.	5. "Expressed opinions are held opinions"; administrators/directors report continuation of program without Title VII funds.

6. Program operation involves the efforts of several professional staff and is not dependent on one or two prime movers.	6. This point is debatable, depending upon the size of institution and degree to which program is coupled with existing university structures. However, one or two faculty members must be responsible for the management of the program along with its academic quality.
7. Program is compatible with established institutional priorities.	7. Degree to which program's goals correspond to traditional purposes of a university—instruction, research, service; likewise, state bilingual education certification legitimizes the existence of the program within the School of Education.
8. Enrollment levels would be high enough to sustain the program.	8. Probably the most important indicator of program institutionalization. Level of Title VII support of tuition and financial support at the institution, geographic proximity of competing bilingual education programs, and state certification all differentially influence enrollment; another area of consternation as Title VII support for training is reduced.

ions and experiences of individuals who were and are participating in IHE programs, the list remains vague and does not specify *which* indicators might contribute the most to the institution's decision to continue or discontinue the program in the absence of Title VII funding. Admitting that no values were assigned to the indicators because the importance of a particular indicator varied with each IHE, and assuming there will be no Title VII funding, the researchers conclude that 43 percent of the bilingual programs, in their opinion, would most likely continue without external support, 34 percent would most likely not continue, and the fate of 23 percent would be unclear. These figures are based upon their own judgments without any rationale as to how they were derived, causing more confusion than clarity (Binkley et al., 1981, p. III-161).

Another model that identifies critical factors and levels of institutionalization is that of Carey and Marsh (1980). Although their framework addresses the issue of university roles in inservice education, one aspect of their study analyzed a bilingual education project within a host institution as part of a Teacher Corps project. Their investigation related project and institutional variables to levels of institutionalization for a variety of projects. Table 2 identifies the variables influencing institutionalization along with scale values assigned to these levels of institutionalization. Inspection of this model shows fourteen characteristics at work and three levels of institutionalization (extensive, moderate, limited).

In a subsequent study, Carey and Marsh (1980) used a step-wise regression analysis to clarify the relationship between the model's predictor variables, i.e., characteristics of the project and institution, and the achieved level of institutionalization for each Teacher Corps innovation. Indeed, their findings shed some light on the issue of critical factors influencing educational change. These four predictor variables, accounting for 70 percent of the variance, were strongly associated with the achieved level of institutionalization (in their order of importance):

1. Colleagues value and want to institutionalize the innovation.
2. [A significant] amount of project staff time [is] given to implementing the innovation with the project.
3. The institutionalizer is a member of the regular faculty.
4. The innovation is an adaptation of innovation developed or created outside the local setting. (pp. 38-39)

These results clearly indicate that each category of their model — characteristics of the project, of the institutionalizer, of the innovation, and of the institution — marks an independent contribution toward accomplishing successful institutionalization. Among the implications of their studies, three stand out:

1. The process of institutionalization entails a cluster of factors about the innovation, the institutionalizer, and the institution, and no single variable or cluster of variables in their findings explained the total variance.
2. Individuals interested in increasing institutionalization can manipulate these variables with some assurance that levels of institutionalization can be increased.
3. Organizational features are important to any effort to innovate.

On the basis of this review of the research and literature pertaining to critical factors that influence institutionalization within an IHE, one can conclude that a combination of factors must be identified. Although considerable overlap is evident in the three models presented, they all negate the fallacy that institutionalization can be conceived as a single, valued process. Further research is necessary to empirically verify any aggregate of factors. I recommend that IHEs explore these critical factors, along with others not mentioned, within their own geographic settings, assess the extent to which they have institutionalized their bilingual programs, and seek ways to sustain student enrollments in an era of economic decline. The last observation leads directly into the next issue of this paper.

How Can the Process of Institutionalization Endure in the Period of the "New Austerity"?

This issue has many "angles" and "rough edges" to it, e.g., the attitude of institutional decision makers toward the meaning and effectiveness of bilingual education, the beliefs of bilingual education faculty concerning their role and future within formal higher education, the extent to which the federal government will reduce training grants in the next few years, how states will respond to and advocate the need for qualified bilingual personnel, and the images we have of schools and the types of changes that correspond to each (Firestone, 1980). The question also assumes that some form of bilingual education will persist, thereby raising the issue of what kinds of strategies would be most successful, e.g., employing a "cooperative" strategy, consolidating current gains, and appealing to private and corporate funding authorities.

The issue of whether or not bilingual education will survive at all in postsecondary institutions in the absence of Title VII funds is an important one. Ultimately, however, its resolution will depend upon the commitment, capacity, and competence of the individuals who belong to the institution.

What steps, then, might be considered to maintain the process of institutionalization that will be a vital link in the education of minority and majority language students in this country? Since I do not have a magic crystal ball, I can only describe some of my own thoughts and activities that presently make sense of the organization to which I belong. As Firestone (1980, p. 461) reminds us, one ought not assume a universal strategy for planned change; "projects must be tailored to the specific settings in which they will be used." I hope that my ideas will assist readers in their own deliberations. The list of references can be consulted for other sources such as Arciniega (1980) and Carey and Marsh (1980). I recommend these few steps (no priority is given to the numbering):

Step 1. View institutionalization as an eclectic socioeducational process combining the best elements of loosely and tightly coupled systems within the academic system of the institution.

This view simply responds to Weick's (1976, p. 1) observation that "parts of some organizations are heavily rationalized but many parts also prove intractable to analysis through rational assumptions."

Table 2
Variables Influencing Institutionalization
(Carey and Marsh, 1980, pp. 20-21)

Variable	Scale		
	5	3	1
Characteristics of the Project			
1. The proposal includes the innovation as an aspect of project	The innovation is an explicit goal for the project as stated in the proposal		The innovation is not mentioned nor implied in the project proposal
2. Proposal emphasizes institutionalization of the innovation as goal	Institutionalization of the innovation is an explicit goal for the project		Institutionalization is not mentioned nor implied in the proposal
3. The innovation is highly interconnected with other project activities (in practice)	The innovation is highly interconnected with other project activities		The innovation is not connected to other project activities
Characteristics of the Institutionalizer			
1. The institutionalizer is affiliated with the project	The key institutionalizer is a member of the core project staff		The key institutionalizer is not affiliated with the project
2. The institutionalizer is a member of the regular faculty	The key institutionalizer is a tenured faculty member		The key institutionalizer is a soft-money project person not on the tenure track
3. The amount of project staff time given to implementing the innovation within the project	Extensive staff time is given to implementing the innovation *within the project*		Very little staff time is given to implementing the innovation *within the project*

4. The amount of project staff time given to institutionalizing the innovation	Extensive staff time is given to institutionalizing the innovation	Very little staff time is given to institutionalizing the innovation
Characteristics of the Innovation		
1. The innovation is an adaptation of innovation developed or created outside the local setting	The innovation comes from outside with no local revision	The innovation is entirely locally developed
2. The innovation is a tangible product or program (degree of transportability)	The innovation is a tangible, easily transportable product	The innovation is an amorphous entity which would be awkward to transport
Characteristics of the Institution		
1. The institutional leadership wants to institutionalize the innovation	Leadership provides funds, extensive support, and expressed strong interest in the innovation	Leadership does not provide funding; no expression of interest in innovation (or negative reaction)
2. Colleagues value and want to institutionalize the innovation	Colleagues highly value or want innovation	Colleagues are neutral to or oppose innovation
3. The innovation does not violate the turf of colleagues	No intrusion on existing faculty's turf	Extensive intrusion on existing faculty's turf
4. The innovation has the promise of generating significant levels of revenue	Innovation more than pays for itself when used by institution	Innovation cannot pay for its use by institution
5. The innovation is easily translated into the administrative building blocks of the institution (courses, programs, credentials, departments)	Innovation explicitly framed in terms of IHE courses, program requirements, or credentials	Innovation very difficult to translate into IHE courses, program requirements, or credentials

The image of "loosely coupled systems" captures the latter, whereby structures or elements within the institution, e.g., bilingual education and administration, preserve their own identity, uniqueness, and separateness over a period of time. The image of "tightly coupled systems" connotes the degree of bureaucratic, heavily rationalized linkages that are easily located within an institution, e.g., the bilingual teacher education office with its director, staff, and other visible organizational elements. Another positive feature of this perspective is that it points out the fallacy that institutionalization can follow traditional models of educational innovation. To me, the image of "loosely and tightly coupled systems" expresses the fluidity and structural stability that characterize this process. Since 1975, the bilingual faculty at Fordham has been successful in "coupling" with the College of Lincoln Center to establish an undergraduate bilingual teacher education program; the Division of Administration, Policy, and Urban Education of the School of Education provided a professional diploma program for bilingual administrators and supervisors; Special Education developed a bilingual special education master's degree; the Division of Psychological and Educational Services established a bilingual urban school psychology program; and the Division of Curriculum and Teaching provided a master's degree in bilingual bicultural education. The concept of "loosely coupled systems" allows one to be on the "lookout" for unexpected and potentially promising bonds (Justiz et al., 1980, pp. 157-160).

What is important about Step 1 is that "institutionalizers" make explicit their own understanding of institutionalization along with "significant others" within the institution.

Step 2. Secure approval and certification of bilingual program(s).

Besides legitimizing the program within the institution, this step just might assure future enrollments. At Fordham, we have recently decided to "tightly couple" with the College at Lincoln Center and therefore to initiate a four-year liberal arts program with certification in bilingual elementary education. We have come to realize that bilingual education at the elementary level is absolutely necessary. My own research (Baecher, 1981, 1982) and that of Cummins (1981) pertaining to the cognitive learning styles of bilingual children and the developmental aspects of bilingual proficiency, respectively, point to the need for early bilingual intervention in learning and augmentation of cognitive styles. One place to begin is at the preservice level, as is forcefully documented in Gaspar (1981) dealing with Hispanics and the U.S. economy, and in the *Research Bulletin* of the Hispanic Research Center describing Hispanic American diversity (1981).

Step 3. Do not abdicate your role as bilingual educators and leaders within your institution.

Vast transformations have been predicted for the educational system in the years ahead. While these changes are inevitable and possibly beneficial, thereby affecting bilingual programs within IHEs, the role of the bilingual professional and academic scholar will become increasingly important. In answering the question, "What is the challenge for the College of Education?" Mulhern (1977) reminds us that:

> Just as the problems of urban education did not dissolve when colleges abandoned urban programs, the need for bilingual education will remain even if the supplement[al] funding were to be abandoned. The rising surge of ethnicity is a force in American politics and it seems destined to grow rather than diminish. Consequently, the need for teachers and leadership will remain and will ultimately be met, with or without teacher educators. The challenge for teacher educators and the colleges of education is leadership; the alternative is atrophy. (p. 76)

The next few years for the formal higher education landscape, then, represent a watershed in accepting or rejecting this challenge: to lead or to atrophy.

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CHAPTER 24

Bilingual Bicultural Education: A Humanistic Multiethnic Challenge

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Introduction

Publication of this paper coincides with a most critical period for bilingual bicultural programs in the United States. This current crisis can be attributed to the following major reasons, among others:

1. In general, a worsening economic situation presently prevails in the United States. In itself, this situation appears to provide unprecedented support for the arguments that have been constantly directed against bilingual bicultural education as a waste of taxpayers' money.
2. The theme of the eleventh annual conference of the National Association for Bilingual Education, "Bilingual Education: Now or Never," has a bearing on the crisis facing bilingual bicultural education. The selection of this theme was given careful consideration with respect to others carrying terms such as "challenge" or "advocacy." In sum, the major effort was made to select a theme that would not antagonize the average taxpayer, the adherent to the "melting-pot" model, or antibilingual interest groups.
3. Nearly fifteen years after the enactment of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, advocates of bilingual bicultural education urgently and seriously realize the need for self-examination that can provide a realistic evaluation of what has really been accomplished educationally and politically at the federal, state, and local levels.
4. The most obvious example of the crisis which bilingual bicultural education must now meet is the Reagan administration's rescission of the proposed Lau regulations and its advocacy of the block grant program. In my judgment, this constitutes the severest blow to bilingual bicultural education since its formal inception in 1968 and subsequent reauthorizations by Congress. My reasoning is simple, but crystal clear: the proposed Lau regulations were the most successful accomplishment of bilingual bicultural education beyond the Bilingual Education Act of 1974. The proposed regulations would have mandated that every state provide bilingual education programs in order to offer equal educational opportunities for minority language children whose English language proficiencies are limited.

The Reagan administration's rescission of these proposed regulations and its sponsorship of the block grant principle do constitute, in my estimation, a major effort to restrict bilingual bicultural education to certain states with high concentrations of children whose English-language ability is limited. In my opinion, the act of suspending the proposed Lau regulations does pose a most dangerous threat to the survival of bilingual bicultural education. Rather than champion bilingual bicultural education as an educational philosophy of the United States as a whole, with revolutionary ramifications for the humanistic education of children regardless of their ethnic origin, race, or religion, it confines the choice of this instructional approach to local education agencies that can somehow provide linguistic remedies to children whose English-language ability is limited. The legislative history of bilingual bicultural education itself attests to the intensity and agony of the struggle waged by bilingual bicultural educators and minority language groups when the federal government does not assume its responsibility for supporting the institutionalization of bilingual bicultural programs and administering its federal sanctions whenever individual states neglect to implement these programs.

The crux of the problem can be explained by a few fundamental questions that bilingual bicultural educators have to address at this particular juncture. To what extent have bilingual bicultural educators succeeded in making bilingual bicultural education a mainstream philosophy of the U.S. educational system? To what degree have bilingual bicultural educators accumulated empirical evidence to substantiate their arguments that bilingual bicultural education does stimulate pride in U.S. children not only in relation to their own academic achievements, self-concepts, and ethnocultural heritage, but also in the United States as a country whose Constitution legally entitles them to equal educational opportunities? How strictly have bilingual bicultural educators assured us that bilingual bicultural programs were made available to minority language groups on humanistic grounds rather than as token programs whose first unspoken objective was the control of these ethnic groups? To rephrase the question, to what extent is bilingual bicultural education, as a philosophical educational movement, a potential threat to the melting pot model—the ideal for all those who believe in the supremacy of the assimilationist Americanization process?

The entertainment of these questions requires a brief exposition of the historical context of bilingual bicultural education, especially as it pertains to the history of ethnic groups and minority language groups in the United States.

Ethnic Groups and Formal Federal Policy

As early as 1818, the U.S. government established an official policy not to recognize or support ethnic groups, fearing that such formal recognition would lead to the fragmentation of the nation and the establishment of territorial enclaves. It was maintained that only individuals would be recognized and that if groups wished to preserve their ethnic heritage, they had to do so without official assistance. In spite of this formal policy, immigrants to the United States sought out earlier arrivals from their homelands. This was an understandable psychological reaction to an alien environment which stressed the importance of becoming Americanized by abandoning one's native culture and accepting the language, behavioral patterns, and values of the U.S. core culture, which was characterized as a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) culture with a value system emphasizing Anglo-Saxon conformity. As a reaction to the formal requirement for assimilation, ethnic groups informally created their own networks and their own cultural enclaves without the official support of the U.S. government, and perhaps in defiance of this official policy itself, which unconditionally endorsed the melting pot model as the dream of a new nation.

Gordon (1964) distinctly documents this important observation:

> And so came into being the ethnic church, conducting services in the native language, the ethnic school for appropriate indoctrination of the young, the newspaper published in the native tongue, the mutual aid service, the recreational groups *and beneath the formal structure, the informal network of ethnically enclosed cliques and friendship patterns* which guaranteed both comfortable socializing and the confinement of marriage within the ancestral group. (Gordon, 1964, p. 105, emphasis added.)

The above-cited quotation unquestionably corroborates Kallen's argument for cultural pluralism in the United States. He offers three main reasons in support of cultural diversity:

1. Unlike all other social groups, ethnic groups are based on involuntary affiliation. In Kallen's terms:

> Men may change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religion, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent: They cannot change their grandfathers. (Kallen, 1964)

2. Cultural pluralism is in conformity with the constitutional ideals of democracy, equality, and justice in the United States, including the right to be different.
3. Cultural diversity contributes to the enrichment of the host culture without necessarily threatening or weakening the loyalty of the ethnocultural group to the larger society.

Ultimately, Americanization in Kallen's perspective will not mean the complete loss of ethnic identification with all distinctions somehow mythically or magically erased, but it will distinctly mean what Kallen described as the "American Way" being the "way of orchestration."

> As in the orchestra the different instruments, each with its own characteristic timbre and theme, contribute distinct and recognizable parts to the composition, so in the life and culture of a nation, the different regional, ethnic, occupational, religious and other communities compound their different activities to make up the national spirit. The national spirit is constituted by this union of the different. (Kallen, 1964, p. 147)

Based on this analogy, one can affirm that the recognition of differences among ethnocultural groups and the need for mutual respect is one of the most fundamental prerequisites for a humanistically oriented reeducational process of U.S. society.

To state it crudely, if government officials since the inception of the United States as a nation did not succeed in eradicating the differences among ethnocultural groups that constitute it, why should we not recognize these differences and constructively develop a healthy attitude of *genuinely* (otherwise one can always pretend) appreciating them? The implications for the need to cultivate a refined sense of mutual respect, understanding, and appreciation for these differences is intimately related to the U.S. educational system itself. Cross et al. (1977), in their call for fostering cultural pluralism in the classroom, maintain that there are two basic considerations to which attention should be given:

1. That individuals in the United States are socialized to ignore the close connection between racial myths, stereotypes, and racism which have been perpetuated through nonproductive conflicts on local, national, and international levels.
2. That individuals are also socialized to ignore the fact that it is the reaction to cultural differences, not cultural differences themselves, that create intergroup conflicts.

These two considerations should be carefully scrutinized by bilingual bicultural educators whose primary objective, in my view, should be to depict bilingual bicultural education not only as a mere instructional approach whose major emphasis is on imparting or improving the linguistic skills of limited-English-speaking students, but also as a method of incorporating the cultural background of the students into the curriculum. In other words, the bicultural component itself has undoubtedly more far-reaching consequences for the education of ethnically different children. If the problem of teaching the ethnically different child is conceptualized merely as a linguistic problem, then one tends to question, in partial agreement with the opponents of bilingual bicultural education, the merit of this approach as contrasted with other instructional approaches such as English as a second language (ESL).

As a matter of fact, the uniqueness of the bilingual bicultural approach is that it not only uses the native or target language of the student as a medium of instruction, but also considers the cultural heritage and its connection with the lifestyles of ethnically different children. Thus, the distinction between bilingual education and bilingual bicultural education becomes of paramount significance.

Schneider should be complimented for succinctly documenting this distinction.

> Bilingual education is an instructional program in which two languages—English and the native tongue—are used as mediums of instruction and in which the cultural background of students is incorporated into the curriculum. This is distinguished from a program, which may be bilingual, but which fails to incorporate the cultural backgrounds of students and thus, cannot be considered bicultural. (U. S., Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Education Legislation of 1973. In Schneider, 1976, p.2)

Viewed in this manner, bilingual bicultural education will then have two principal objectives—explicitly enunciated by Porter (1976), former Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan. These objectives are:

1. To ensure that no child's success in public school is unduly inhibited because he or she is a child of limited English-speaking ability.
2. To ensure that all children are provided with opportunities to gain an understanding of their own culture as well as the culture of others.

Bilingual bicultural educators and ethnolinguistic minorities should turn these two objectives into their primary preoccupation in order to ensure that the provision of well-organized bilingual bicultural programs which accommodate the educational and sociopsychological needs of students who are ethnoculturally and linguistically different.

In the political arena of bilingual bicultural education and in our zeal to secure jobs and grants, it appears that some of us have lost sight of these humanistic objectives and how to achieve them effectively and practically, rather than glorifying them at a basic, theoretical level. In my judgment, it is crucial at present to start a process of self-examination whose main target is the articulation of the future direction of bilingual bicultural education based on our past experiences. In this process of self-examination, I believe that several landmark points in the legislative history of bilingual bicultural education should be highlighted.

Bilingual Bicultural Education: Landmark Points in its Legislative History

Bilingual education, in the broad sense of the term, existed in the United States prior to the federal legislative policies of 1968 and 1974. Thousands of private and ethnic community schools provided instruction of a particular native language without, however, offering classes utilizing the native language as a medium of instruction in the content area—a characteristic unique to bilingual bicultural education and that distinguishes it from foreign language learning. This historical fact should be linked with the two previously mentioned points by Kallen and Gordon:

1. Ethnocultural groups did maintain their ancestral ties and cultural heritage regardless of the melting pot philosophy and the formal pressure to conform to the Americanization process of blending all ethnic differences to create a new people.
2. Notwithstanding the formal policy of 1818 which did not officially recognize ethnic groups, the underlying, informal structure of ethnic enclaves defended their survival and established their viability.

Of relevance in this context is Child's 1943 classic study of an Italian community in New England. Three modes of adjustment encountered by a minority group were observed:

1. Rebellion against one's minority background coupled with a drive toward maximum assimilation.
2. Rejection of the U.S. way of life and the attempt to maintain pride in one's cultural heritage.
3. Apathetic withdrawal leading to confusion of identity and the avoidance of situations involving problems of one's cultural background.

A study by Gardner and Lambert (1972) revealed a fourth mode—the development of a bicultural identity as reflected by proficient bilinguals who overcome the conflict of divided allegiance or multiple identity and develop the means to become members of both cultural groups simultaneously. It is needless to assert that this should be the goal of bilingual bicultural education, eventually leading to what Hocket (cited in Lambert, 1972) calls "the reduction of heat under the American melting pot." Lambert and Gardner stress the importance of this research finding by declaring that a minority group's feelings of marginality are not eliminated by denying one of the competing cultural influences. On the contrary, members of a minority group will discover that it is far more rewarding to nurture the two cultural linguistic traditions (Gardner and Lambert, 1972, p. 137).

In the final analysis, it is the Constitution of the United States and the findings of its legal system that mandated the provision of educational programs based on the key principle of equal educational opportunity. There is no need to analyze the judicial processes and court cases that have resulted in legislative doctrines or reforms addressing the education of minority language students. Suffice it to say that these doctrines or reforms were, and continue to be, characterized by ambiguity regarding the type of assistance, the character of the bilingual bicultural programs, and the educational objectives.

This vagueness in the legislative process is relevant to the rationale or justifications upon which the philisophical foundations of bilingual bicultural education ultimately rest. Three different justifications can be offered:

1. An attempt to improve the status of minority groups in order to understand them better. This implies implementing a more effective system of control over them by encouraging a symbolic or token investment in the status quo and thereby controlling their behavior.
2. A tendency to appear democratic and fair toward minority groups while in practice and actual situations perpetuating inequalities and injustices and maintaining the status quo.
3. A sincere and genuine interest in helping minority groups foster a sense of pride in their cultural heritage; the ultimate outcome will contribute to more effective communication among ethnocultural groups, culminating in mutual appreciation of cultural diversity.

Obviously, the third rationale—the most humanistic—is the one upon which bilingual bicultural programs should be institutionalized.

Schneider (1976) concluded that the 1974 Bilingual Education Act was not revolutionary in nature and did not reflect a reaction against the pressures of minority groups for special treatment, but rather that it represented a reform of compensatory educational programs for the economically disadvantaged. Only when the federal government assumes full responsibility for the funding and institutionalization of meaningfully organized bilingual bicultural programs for all limited-English-proficient people can one speak of radical legislative action in bilingual bicultural education. This goal cannot be achieved without the exercise of enormous pressures on senators, congressmen, and the federal government by strong coalitions of ethnocultural groups sincerely struggling for the attainment of better educational opportunities for the minority language child. While political lobbying is definitely necessary at this juncture in the legislative process, bilingual bicultural education will be successfully undermined by its opponents unless it is recognized as an integral part of the humanistic philosophical outlook of a multicultural U. S. society.

González (1975) states that bilingual bicultural education was first promoted by Spanish-speaking communities and not sought at first by other linguistic groups such as French, Portuguese, Chinese, Polish, Greek, Japanese, and several American Indian tribes.

Since the opponents of bilingual bicultural education are growing in numbers and power, are using a variety of lobbying tactics, and are becoming more vigorous in their attacks, the coalition of interests among bilingual bicultural professionals, educators, and ethnolinguistic minorities is imperative—now more than ever before in view of the Reagan administration's policy and its stand on the Lau regulations and funding policies for bilingual bicultural programs. We hope that bilingual bicultural educators fully realize the seriousness of the threat presently facing bilingual bicultural education.

One of the findings of social psychological research states that the greater the threat a group faces from the outside, the greater the solidarity within the group. It is my hope that educators, parents, and community leaders who advocate bilingual bicultural education will make use of this tendency and solidify their forces for the defense of bilingual bicultural education. This requires us to raise a set of legitimate questions, some of which have been already presented in the introductory remarks.

To what extent have we succeeded in generating an awareness in the general public about the human needs for the bilingual bicultural approach in educating linguistically and ethnoculturally different children? For instance, what are the convincing academic arguments to counteract the attacks on bilingual bicultural education as "a waste of the taxpayers' money"? Have we, for example, conducted a scientific study on how many billions of dollars are given annually by the U. S. government to foreign regimes with whom the United States shares some political interests or has the intention of political intervention or protection? If this study is empirically conducted, it could corroborate the contention that the money spent on bilingual bicultural programs is essentially token money intended to contain the behavior of ethnocultural groups and accommodate them as an integral part of the status quo.

One of Schneider's (1976) most outstanding findings was that public opinion had minimal influence on the outcome of bilingual education legislation. Furthermore, she found that general public awareness of the development of the legislation appeared negligible. While the original opponents to bilingual bicultural education were, in general, not outraged, current opponents have largely succeeded in negatively stereotyping bilingual bicultural education as some type of an educational gimmick that is utterly un-American. To communicate their message, they have skillfully exploited the mass media, e.g., *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines, and the "Good Morning America" television program. Many highly educated professionals, including a large proportion of university professors, have no knowledge of what exactly bilingual bicultural education is. Can we then blame the public for its negative views about bilingual bicultural education? Moreover, what are the international networks that bilingual bicultural educators have established with other countries? How many international educators and scholars bother to attend an annual convention of bilingual bicultural education, compared with the number of educators and professionals who come from outside the United States to attend ESL conventions?

These questions are raised in a sincere, critical manner, to document the earnest need to entrench bilingual bicultural education in a humanistic framework that calls for coordinated efforts among ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural groups who constitute a strong coalition of interests for the survival of bilingual bicultural education. Lest the assumption be made that bilingual bicultural education will survive anyway, one has to hastily qualify that the question is not merely the survival of bilingual bicultural education, but the conditions under which it will survive. A case in point is our recent engagement in the arguments over maintenance versus transitional programs themselves as a result of the Reagan administration's policies.

It took only the Reagan administration's conservative, melting pot policies to frighten many bilingual bicultural educators, not only about the survival of bilingual bicultural education, but also about the survival and continuation of their own jobs. In a nutshell, we have to contend that when the melting pot model was the dominant philosophical stance of U.S. society, nobody bothered about the survival of this philosophy with a change in a political administration, be it Republican or Democratic. In the same vein, we must also contend that unless bilingual bicultural education is publicized and accepted as both an inseparable and indispensable ingredient of the formal educational system in the United States, we will continue to fear that changes in the political administration or government will necessarily entail concomitant changes in the policies governing or controlling the education of minority language students. Therefore, the long-term challenge that faces bilingual bicultural education is its own survival as an educational humanistic approach guaranteed by the educational, philosophical outlook of the United States. One has to remember that in the strict sense of the definition of bilingual bicultural education—i.e., the native language is officially used as a medium of instruction in the content areas—the United States is one of the few countries that offer this type of education. This in itself is a tremendous source of pride in this country and a constitution that mandated the provision of equal opportunities to children who happen not to be mentally retarded or emotionally impaired, but only linguistically different.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has discussed the critically prevalent concerns pertaining to bilingual bicultural education, its present status, and the ramifications of this status for its future direction, philosophical educational foundations, and the need to defend it as a constitutional right for the ethnolinguistically and ethnoculturally different child.

The political and humanistic components of bilingual bicultural education have been analyzed within the legislative historical framework. More explicitly than implicitly, my contention is that in order for bilingual bicultural education to survive as a viable instructional approach, it has to be, in the final resort, anchored in the humanistic, philosophical, and educational outlook of a multicultural U.S. society. The Americanization process in this multicultural society will place its main efforts on mutual appreciation of ethnocultural differences rather than on the eradication of these differences—an attempt that has, historically speaking, failed.

Although the conceptualization of bilingual bicultural education will continue to emphasize the need for dealing with the actual linguistic difficulties that students of minority language backgrounds confront, the need for the multicultural component should not be underestimated. This component should be integrated as a significant part of a curriculum that values multicultural education in general. The United States contains one of the most solidly monolingual societies in the world. This fact is coupled with the almost unbelievable lack of adequate cultural awareness about other cultures or societies. This problem not only constitutes a challenge for the bilingual bicultural educator, but also touches the level of consciousness of dedicated U. S. educators in general.

Traditionally, the services rendered by bilingual programs are primarily needed by the historically subordinated, underprivileged, ethnic minority children who are labelled, stereotyped, or stigmatized in one way or another. The mere provision of linguistic competence or skills for these children will not, I believe, put an end to the stereotyping processes which they go through. Even the majority of minority language background children whose primary language is English encounter many problems in their school environments that can be attributed to certain stereotyping attitudes they encounter. Hence, one should argue that only by adopting and focusing on a bicultural approach can the difficulties that bilingual children face be reduced. Only through this approach can a sense of cultural awareness and appreciation ultimately lead to the realization that it is the reactions to cultural differences, not cultural differences in themselves, that create intergroup conflicts.

Throughout this paper, the urgency for forming coalitions of interests among ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic groups has been clearly elucidated. Although no one would deny that Spanish-speaking communities were a catalyst in the birth of bilingual bicultural education, no committed educator nowadays can naively assume that the survival of bilingual bicultural education as a radical, educational movement can depend on one minority group. Inasmuch as the opponents of bilingual bicultural education are making strong attacks, ethnocultural communities urgently need to coordinate their efforts and collectively plan their strategies for the survival of bilingual bicultural education as a mainstream philosophy of the U. S. educational system.

The following quotation from Biesanz and Biesanz (1969) summarizes the thrust of my argument:

> But the yardstick of choice is tricky, mainly because people say one thing and do another. Americans value education, but they spend more money each year on tobacco and liquor than they do on schools. Another disparity between real and ideal culture patterns appears in our national budget, where the lion's share is earmarked for defense and only a small fraction for health, education, and welfare. (Biesanz and Biesanz, 1969, p. 74)

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CHAPTER 25

Hispanic Women in Higher Education: Our Problems and Our Prospects

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Introduction

Being a Hispanic woman in higher education can be a unique experience. As "two-fers" (minority group members and women), we provide institutions of higher education with double figures for affirmative action counts. We know what it has taken us to get to where we are, the problems we face in being there, and the challenges we meet in remaining in viable positions in higher education.

This paper will develop three aspects of the Hispanic woman in higher education. The first section provides the reader with demographic information on *la hispana*. It discusses educational background, salaries, and employment levels. The next section focuses on the conflicts we face in the educational arena, including problems from outside our culture as well as from within. Finally, the paper discusses some techniques for overcoming barriers to our success.

In order to become self-actualized adults, we must understand who we are. By knowing who we are and setting a goal for where we are going, we can facilitate the process of developing our career patterns.

Demographics

The condition of Hispanics in higher education can be discussed for three distinct areas: as undergraduate students, as degree earners, and as employees in institutions of higher education. While demographic data specific to Hispanic females are often difficult to obtain, available data will be provided to the reader.

A 1980 report (Hill and Fromkin, 1980) provided an overview of Hispanic postsecondary students. A general survey of the Hispanic population on the U.S. mainland in March 1976 discovered that Spanish was spoken in four out of five households; the median age of Hispanics was 21 years; and they were predominantly urban, educationally disadvantaged, and had lower than average educational attainment levels. In studying Hispanics enrolled in college, the report observed that Hispanics were underrepresented in total enrollment; they were older than average; 56 percent were financially independent of their parents; they were generally economically poorer; they were employed in jobs with longer hours for less pay; and the proportion of Hispanic women was equivalent to the total number of women enrolled in college (Hill and Fromkin, 1980).

Hispanics as Students

Increasing numbers of qualified Hispanic students are applying for and gaining admission to post secondary programs. In a study of college students from fourteen to thirty-four years of age, computed figures support this increase. In the fall of 1976, a total of 383,790 Hispanics were enrolled in both public and private institutions in the United States. In the fall of 1978, of a total of 11,230,848 students enrolled in institutions of higher education, 417,271 were Hispanic; 53,118 of these students were found in universities, 137,236 at other four-year institutions, while an overwhelming 226,917 were found in two-year institutions across the United States. What is significant is that the total number of Hispanics increased by 8.7 percent from 1976 to 1978 (Grant and Eiden, 1980).

As we take a close view of enrollment figures, one reason for this dramatic change may be the increase of Hispanic *women* enrolled in institutions of higher education from fall 1976 to 1978. The number of Hispanic women increased from 174,076 to 204,747, an increase of 17.6 percent, while Hispanic males enrolled in similar institutions increased 1.3 percent.

Hispanics as Degree Earners

One indicator of success for Hispanic students may be the completion of a degree program. When compared with the total number of students completing degrees at all levels, the numbers do not appear promising.

In a review of Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D.'s conferred by institutions of higher education in the United States during 1978–1979 (Grant and Eiden, 1982), we find that 20,029 Hispanics earned Bachelor's degrees, 5,544 earned Master's degrees, and 439 earned Ph.D.'s. While education departments produced one of the highest numbers of students with degrees (3,029 B.A.'s, 2,555 M.A.'s, and 136 Ph.D.'s), business and management, psychology, and social sciences produced high numbers of Hispanic professionals, also.

When these figures are compared with those for the 1976–1977 academic year, the following patterns emerge:

- An increase in the number of Bachelor's degrees conferred, from 18,663 to 20,029 — a 7.3 percent increase.
- A decrease in the number of Master's and Ph.D.'s conferred, from 6,069 to 5,544, and from 522 to 439 respectively—a decrease rate of 8.7 percent for Master's and 16 percent for Ph.D.'s.
- A shift in the major fields of study producing the highest number of graduating students. In 1976–1977, the highest number of graduating students came from education, foreign

> languages, engineering, and health combined; in 1978–1979 business and management, psychology, and the social sciences produced the highest number of graduates.

A closer look at these figures reveals interesting discrepancies in the number of Hispanic males and females earning degrees. Table 1 indicates that as the level of education increases, the proportion of men to women increases dramatically. While the proportion of men to women receiving B.A. degrees is approximately 1:1, the same proportion of doctorates is almost 2:1, while the proportions in the fields of dentistry and medicine are 5:1 and 3:1, respectively.

Hispanics as Employees in Institutions of Higher Education

In 1975, Hispanics constituted less than 1 percent of all tenured professors, but almost 3 percent of all tenured lecturers. Table 2 shows the occupational distribution of full-time Hispanic and White faculty in institutions of higher education by rank and tenure for that year.

A more recent study demonstrated that Hispanics formed less than 2 percent of the full-time administrators, faculty, and other professionals in colleges and universities. A breakdown of the number of Hispanics employed in institutions of higher education as reported by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Neal, 1981) revealed that Hispanic men are found in much higher numbers than

Table 1

Earned degrees conferred by institutions of higher education by levels of degree and sex of students: United States, 1978–79

	Total Hispanics	Hispanic Men	Hispanic Women
Bachelor's Degrees	20,029	10,354	9,675
Master's Degrees	5,544	2,775	2,769
Doctor's Degrees	439	294	145
First-Professional Dentistry	85	70	15
Medicine	324	243	81
Law	728	543	185
Theology	84	79	5
Other Fields	62	54	8

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Civil Rights (Grant and Eiden, 1982).

Table 2

Occupational distribution of full-time Hispanic and White faculty in institutions of higher education, by rank and tenure: 1975.

Rank of full-time faculty	Hispanic as percent of all employees				Percent distribution					
					Hispanic			White, non-Hispanic		
	Total	Tenure	On-track[1]	Nontenure[2]	Tenure	On-track[1]	Non-tenure[2]	Tenure	On-track[1]	Non-tenure[2]
Total	1.4	1.1	1.7	1.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professors	0.8	0.7	1.2	1.0	25.8	2.2	2.7	39.1	3.1	5.2
Associate professors	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.6	32.0	11.0	6.2	33.5	12.4	7.1
Assistant professors	1.5	1.2	1.6	1.6	16.1	50.9	16.1	14.5	56.7	19.4
Instructors	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.2	22.0	28.0	41.3	10.5	23.2	32.1
Lecturers	2.8	2.9	4.7	2.2	1.3	3.9	9.3	0.5	1.2	7.1
Other faculty	1.5	1.5	2.0	1.4	2.8	4.0	24.4	2.0	3.4	31.1

[1] Nontenured, but on-track for tenure.

[2] Other nontenured.

Note—Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Higher Education Staff Information Report (EEO-6), January 1975 unpublished tabulations.

Hispanic women in the job categories of executive administration, faculty, service maintenance, and skilled crafts on the one hand, but are underrepresented in the secretarial-clerical area on the other. Overall, Hispanics constitute 2.8 percent of all persons employed in higher education in the United States, with Hispanic women constituting 1.2 percent. Table 3 provides specific figures by race and sex.

Recent studies indicate that very few Hispanics have served as college administrators, trustees, or statewide education board members. A 1979 study of U.S. mainland colleges noted that fourteen two-year colleges and two four-year colleges had Hispanic presidents; a 1977 survey of public two-year colleges indicated that less than 0.3 percent of college trustees were Hispanic; in 1977, 5 of 463 statewide education board members (1.1 percent) were "Spanish speaking" (Brown et al., 1980, p. 121).

When salaries of full-time employees in institutions of higher education were reviewed according to occupational activity, the widest gap in median salaries between Whites and Hispanics occurred in executive and twelve-month faculty positions. While White executives earned a median salary of $18,748, Hispanics earned $16,190. Twelve-month Hispanic faculty earned $18,289, compared with $19,380 for their White counterparts. Had these data been further broken down by sex, I believe they would have shown an even greater discrepancy between salaries of Hispanic and White females employed in higher education.

In a survey by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (1979) at each educational level, Hispanic men earned approximately the same as their White counterparts (see Table 4). However, note that the salary descrepancies between men and women were clearly disproportionate.

Conflicts

In the context of such statistical data on *hispanas* in higher education, the present section will attempt to define the problems they confront along their career paths. We will begin by assessing barriers which greet *hispanas* from outside as well as from within their own culture.

Conflicts within the Hispanic Culture

While Hispanic women confront barriers to success outside their culture, being *hispana* produces a barrier of sorts from within the culture, as well. Myths regarding female roles and functions are difficult to erase.

Saavedra-Vela (1978) indicates that lowered parental expectations play an influential role in the Hispanic female's motivation to remain in school, as well as her career choices.

Table 3

Persons Employed in Institutions of Higher Education (1979–1980)*

	Hispanics				Total Population		
Category	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of Total	Male	Female	Total
Executive Administrative	1,125	433	1,558	1.42	78,658	30,684	109,342
Faculty	4,914	1,981	6,895	1.52	333,391	117,849	451,240
Professional, Nonfaculty	2,137	1,755	3,892	1.84	101,782	109,150	210,932
Secretarial-Clerical	1,441	9,290	10,731	3.42	22,896	290,576	313,472
Technical-Paraprofessional	2,332	1,888	4,220	3.43	54,109	68,848	122,957
Skilled Craft	1,847	91	1,938	3.64	50,239	2,863	53,102
Service and Maintenance	8,155	3,627	11,782	5.89	119,029	80,437	199,866
Total	21,951	19,065	41,016	2.80	760,504	700,407	1,460,911

*Source: Telephone conversation with Mr. James Neal, Equal Employment Commissioner (12/29/81)—based on EEO-6 Report 1979–80.

Table 4

Mean earnings of Hispanics and Whites aged eighteen years and older, by highest level of education attainment and sex: 1977.

Highest Level of Educational Attainment	Mean Earnings			
	Hispanic		White*	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Less than 8 years.	$ 7,923	$3,293	$ 8,204	$3,568
8 years.	9,064	4,386	9,548	4,334
1-3 years high school.	8,223	3,905	9,731	4,160
4 years high school.	10,386	5,466	12,377	5,604
1-3 years college.	9,924	5,588	12,637	5,774
4 years college or more. . .	16,778	8,800	20,541	9,478

*Includes Hispanics who are White.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Money Income in 1977 of Families and Persons in the United States," *Current Population Reports, Series P-60,* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office) 1979.

Many Hispanic women have been raised to expect marriage and a family as part and parcel of living. As part of the Latin culture, women are seen as mothers, wives, and in general, secondary members of the family structure. Men are seen as the primary wage earners. Their educational needs, therefore, often take precedence over those of the women (Saavedra-Vela, 1978).

On the other hand, Preciado Burciaga maintains that this prevalent and false stereotype must be dispelled. She states, "Hispanic parents do recognize the value of education and are encouraging their daughters to pursue it.... Parents often feel the ambivalence of wanting their daughters to forge ahead in academic areas, but also that they not forget the traditional family values and roles" (cited in Saavedra-Vela, 1978, p. 18).

In addition, *la hispana* must sort the "obligations" of education from those of the family as she enters the field of graduate work. Vega (1981) suggests that we face the crisis in competing values, between family duties and career obligations. She contends that for *chicanas* there are few role models for juggling these two roles. She concludes, however, that ". . . most of us have kept our sense of value for our families. . . . That is not to say that our careers aren't important. It means, if anything, that we must simply be better!" (Vega, 1981, p. 8–9).

Pantoja, in a recent presentation at the University of Connecticut, identified several ways in which Hispanic women work against themselves. She suggests that the professional *hispana* —

1. Refuses to confront Hispanic men and their sexism, protecting them because they suffer from racism.
2. Feels guilt and refuses to relate to poor Hispanic women as sisters in a common struggle.
3. Refuses to recognize that she is part of the total women's movement.
4. Could offer young Hispanic women answers and models through intergenerational communication, which is currently lacking. (Pantoja, 1980)

Conflicts with Anglo Culture

Perhaps the most readily apparent conflicts that the *chicana* faces are those with the majority culture. Those characteristics that are most representative of her culture may be those very factors that produce conflict: her color, her language, and her values.

First, her appearance may produce negative stereotypes by college peers and professors alike. The popular notion of beauty in the Anglo culture conjures up images of the fair-haired, fair-skinned, blue-eyed woman. In contrast, the Hispana is portrayed as the raven-haired, dark-eyed, brown-skinned "exotic" woman. The continued media presentations of the Anglo woman as virginal, pure, and good and the minority woman as lustful, sexual, and evil negatively affect the perceptions which professional colleagues hold of the minority woman. Typical stereotypes of the Puerto Rican woman result in images of the passive female, bending first to the will of her father, then to that of her husband — an obscure figure shuffling to the will of her children and the men of her family (Miranda-King, 1974). The popular image of the Mexican woman is of a somber-clad, long-suffering female praying in a dimly lit colonial church (Nieto Gómez, 1976). This reinforces the Anglo American stereotype of the Latin woman as childlike, pampered, and irresponsible.

Like many other minorities working to ward off stereotypes, for the Hispanic woman it is not enough to be just "good" or "competent." She often finds that she must become an overachieving "superstar" in order to obtain respect from her colleagues. The Hispanic woman is scrutinized in the work place, and any mistakes she makes may not be attributed to human error, but rather to the fact that she is Hispanic and as such, not capable of doing a good job.

A second characteristic, her language, may also stigmatize her. Language is a major portion of one's culture. For Hispanics, the Spanish language represents, to a great extent, self-identity; they value their language and the ability to communicate in Spanish across generations. While Spanish is valued, English proficiency is a set of skills which must be acquired in order to survive in the United States. Speaking English with a Hispanic "accent" often fosters negative stereotypes. Anglo Americans often assume that a person who speaks with an accent is somehow intellectually inferior. So, Anglos may deal with the situation by speaking louder and slower, assuming that somehow use of an accent means the speaker is either deaf or mentally deficient.

Third, her values may once again place the Hispanic woman at a disadvantage in this society. Initial research in the area of learning styles of Hispanic students has demonstrated that a higher value is placed on the family than on the self. In fostering a spirit of cooperation, as opposed to competition with siblings and relatives, the Hispanic learns to share. In the Anglo classroom, this may translate to an "inability to work independently," and attempts to work with others are viewed as cheating. Students may be characterized as not highly motivated or competitive. This has implications for teacher aspirations for the Hispanic woman.

Perhaps the biggest barrier that the Anglo community presents to Hispanic women is in the area of education. In general, Hispanic women's concerns regarding the current status of education have been characterized in the following manner by Escobedo (1980):

1. Inadequate preparation at all educational levels, which results in lack of basic skills required for college work and which may be responsible for high attrition rates and low enrollment of Hispanics in higher education
2. Antagonistic attitudes and resultant lowered expectations on the part of Anglo educators, specifically stereotypes about abilities and performance in general
3. Admission practices at institutions of higher education
4. Lack of support systems such as adequate orientation and peer networks contribute to screening Hispanics out of graduate schools.

Escobedo has specifically focused on barriers to professional advancement. She has identified seven such barriers:

1. Lack of publication in journals
2. Lack of participation in professional organizations
3. The practice of "rotation" (allowing Hispanics to occupy nontenured positions and replacing them in a few years with other Hispanics)
4. Lack of knowledge about informal activities and university procedures that are necessary to socialization in the academic community

5. Lack of mentors or sponsorship and support networks for Hispanics
6. Hispanic faculty are often overloaded with demands for service to the Hispanic community and to Hispanic students. These responsibilities may diminish the time available for activities that are critical to advancement, such as research and publication.
7. Isolation from informal associations which may provide exchange of ideas, knowledge of available jobs and funding sources, and development of professional contacts.

Our Prospects

As I perceive the issues, there are three major barriers to our continued participation in institutions of higher education: lack of access, lack of mentors, and lack of job opportunities.

Lack of access

The Reagan administration seems to view the education system less as a tool and more as a target of its economic and political philosophies, that is, as another arena in which federal expenditures can be decreased while state and local control are increased. Thus, the administration has moved to revoke scores of federal regulations governing public school education, including the proposed Lau regulations.

An increasing number of Hispanics rely on resources other than family support to complete college; an overwhelming number have relied on federal grants or loans to do so. College aid programs are being cut severely. For 1981, so-called Pell grants, which go to 2.5 million mainly lower-income college students, were to be cut from $2.6 billion to $1 billion. The Department of Education proposed merging three campus-based programs previously funded at $1 billion. But the Office of Management and Budget denied the request and proposed entirely eliminating supplemental grants for the needy and direct student loans. Only campus work-study programs would remain, but funding would drop from $550 million to $400 million (Magallán, 1981). The major setbacks in funding levels of Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) as well as Pell grants will prohibit attendance at institutions of higher education for growing numbers of Hispanic students.

Under the guise of "increasing quality" or "maintaining standards," Hispanic students might be blocked from admission to institutions of higher education based on biased testing procedures which may be adopted by many institutions of higher education. For example, Connecticut has recently mandated basic competency tests to be administered upon entrance to postsecondary institutions, and a certification exam to be administered to teaching candidates before graduation. Reagan's proposed tax breaks for institutions of higher education that practice racial discrimination may add additional support for this type of action.

Finally, for those students who do gain admission, monies for supportive services will be drastically affected. These programs have usually been the last funded and are likely to be the first slashed as institutions of higher education adjust to loss of funding.

Lack of Mentors

Valverde (1971) has described the problems inherent to being a mentor of minority students. The role of a sponsor is to guide the protégé along the smoothest path to promotion. He suggests that traditionally minorities have been excluded from this process and offers several explanations for this exclusion.

> 1. The rejection of minorities as potential protégés is often subconscious. Sponsors subconsciously seek protégés perceived to have professional abilities and personal characteristics that mirror their own. Since minorities do not look like sponsors, they are often perceived as having some personal or professional defect which eliminates them from subconscious identification. Minority women may suffer doubly during this process. . . . Because most sponsors are White males, minority women are often subconsciously excluded on the basis of both race and sex. If the organization fails to make a conscious effort to bring minorities into the system, the minorities' chances of adoption are slim.
> 2. Even when candidates make conscious efforts to be selected and organizations make conscious efforts to adopt minorities, the way to promotions may be blocked. Peer recognition and support is essential to a candidate's adoption. Peers often fail to approve persons who are culturally different, and sponsors will not select the unapproved candidate.
> 3. If the candidate's peers grant approval, the sponsor's peers may not. If sponsors feel their peers will not approve, they will not adopt minority candidates. Sponsors want candidates with the best chances for success. Successful protégés reinforce the sponsor's position in the organization. (cited in Haven et al., 1980, p. 36-37)

Clearly, lack of Hispanic men and women in full professorship positions in higher education limits the number of role models available to Hispanic students. The absence of minority women in administration further reinforces racial and sexual stereotypes that only White males are leaders and decision makers.

Lack of Job Opportunities

In the *New York Times* Education Supplement (January 10, 1982), Yarrow presented the bleak future which Ph.D.'s may expect. He suggests that:

- Although there will be 450,000 new Ph.D. holders in the next 15 years, only 100,000 academic openings are expected, and the overall number of college teachers will decrease by 53,000 by 1988.
- Of those who do obtain jobs, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reported that 45 percent will work part-time, at lower pay, and without fringe benefits or any hope of gaining tenure.
- NCES estimates that from 15 to 30 percent of all junior faculty members, depending on rank, move from one job to another each year. Many despair of ever attaining tenure and leave the college community for a less nomadic life.
- Because of the severe shortage of tenured and tenure-track positions, most younger scholars today are hired for only a year or two at a time, often to replace a professor on leave.
- According to Dr. Irving Spitzberg, general secretary of the American Association of University Professors, the salaries of professors, in real-dollar terms, have declined by 21 percent in the last decade, partly because of the glut of Ph.D.'s. Last year, the average income of an assistant professor was $18,980 and for an instructor, $15,150.
- Carol Simpson Stern, professor of speech at Northwestern University and head of an association task force on the problems of younger faculty members, said the job squeeze hurt women more than men. Although 26.2 percent of all college teachers are women, she said, they are clustered near the bottom of the academic ladder, with the middle rung filled with the legions of teachers tenured during the 1960s. She said women were "being frozen out of the higher positions." (Yarrow, 1982, p. 15-16)

While the prospects look grim, we must make some decisions as a people about actions we will take. Perhaps the most important of these will be to actively participate in the political process.

We must recognize that politics is the one reason why the current inequality in Hispanic women's education exists. Polly Baca Barragan has said that because Hispanic women do not participate fully in the political life of their communities, they lack the political power to gain equal access to education. Further, she states that "although a handful of Hispanic women have achieved some degree of political influence and power, their numbers have been so small that their voices are dwarfed by both the Chicano movement and the feminist movement in their effort to obtain equal educational opportunities for their respective members" (Saavedra-Vela, 1978, p. 18). Through our own Hispanic politicians, through allies in both the Black and White communities, we should continue to advocate a more equitable voice in such bodies as advisory boards, college and university boards of trustees, and university or college admissions committees. It is important for those Hispanics outside the educational arena to promote inclusion of Hispanics in institutions of higher education. But it is just as important for those of us already there to fulfill our responsibilities to both the community and ourselves to serve on those committees that ultimately make a difference in the college community. Key policy committees such as university senates, course and curriculum committees, and promotion, tenure, and reappointment committees are where we must make our voices heard.

Following Valverde's description of the problems that confront Hispanics seeking mentors, it behooves us in institutions of higher education to become increasingly active in this area. Recruiting students, promoting colleagues, providing assistance to Hispanic researchers, all of these activities will help us help one another. Perhaps the most critical of all is simply *sharing* information — information on grants, on fellowships, on job opportunities. We will have to begin to rely on each other for supportive services.

The final barrier — lack of job opportunities — will be the most difficult to tackle. Once again, scholarly capacity and a good track record will serve to help us help ourselves. But let us not delude ourselves into thinking that these two factors alone will provide the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. We must understand the education policy process itself. This process requires knowledge of the politics of higher education as well as at national, state, and local levels.

My recommendation to Hispanic women is: *get* involved in knowing what it is all about, sisters, for if we don't, we don't stand a chance!

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